

SAWĀNIHĀT-I-MUMTĀZ

OF

MUḤAMMAD KARĪM

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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SECOND PART

From the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II
to the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur



UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

1944

PRINTED BY R. NARAYANASWAMI AIYAR
AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS MUNDAKANNI AMMAN KOIL STREET
MYLAPORE, MADRAS
1944

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INTRODUCTION

Three years have elapsed since the Third Part of *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, of which the present one is a continuation, was published. That the appearance of this Part has been so delayed is due to a variety of causes, one being the publication of *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* presented by me as a thesis for the University of London in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy. The delay in production of this volume has not, however, been altogether a matter for regret, for it has enabled me to prepare an elaborate index for all the Four Parts and publish it along with this volume. The printing of an index with suitable diacritical marks is not an easy task, and no one will fail to recognise the skill and care of the Madras Law Journal Press who are responsible for the printing of the index, as well as the last three volumes.

The present volume carries the history of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic from the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II to the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur. This period, short as it is, includes several of the rulers of the Wālājāhī family, and contains more new matter and gives ample scope for original research like the previous instalments in this series.

The history of every country contains momentous epochs about which it behoves an educated person to know something. Of such epochs the Carnatic has had its full share. The rise of the Wālājāhī dynasty in the Carnatic at about the middle of the eighteenth century of the Christian era, was an event of the greatest historical importance not only to the Carnatic and her immediate neighbours but to India generally. It marks the

creation of a Muslim nationality and the genesis of political relations which affected the whole course of Indian history. This period of the Carnatic history is the starting point for the building up of the British Raj in India and it indicates, in fact the transition from the mediæval to modern times. It will be worth while to recall the historical facts.

The first Nawwab of the Wālājahī family Anwarud Dīn Khān Bahādur Shāhāmat Jang was the *nāgim* of the Carnatic appointed by the Nizām as his deputy the Nizām himself being the *wazir* of the Deccan appointed by the Mughal Emperor at Delhi. These appointments were not hereditary by the original grant, yet the ancient custom in India was in favour of hereditary office. In the course of the decline of the Mughal empire the vicerealties such as the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal acquired hereditary rights by gradual encroachments and opportune demands from the Emperor who was compelled to concede them in times of difficulty. These *ṣābadars* or feudatories became hereditary princes by degrees exercising virtually sovereign jurisdiction within their own territory though nominally they paid ceremonial homage and allegiance to the Emperor.

Anwarud Dīn Khān Bahādur the *nāgim* of the Carnatic was very friendly with the English East India Company. In 1746 when the French took possession of Madras and Cuddalore, the two English settlements he fought against the French, recaptured the two towns and restored them to the English. The reason why the Nawwāb protected the English settlements is shown in the following narrative of Burhanud Dīn.

‘Now the French have crossed the limits and have subdued and brought under their control the town of Chennapattinam (Madras) belonging to the English. To maintain the honour of our administration, to establish the power of our *nigāmat* to teach a lesson to the proud and the vain to help those who hold fast the handle of trustworthiness and obedience

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and to improve the standard of administration, to discharge all these responsibilities of sovereign, we commissioned Muhammad Mahfūz Khān Bahādur, your elder brother and entrusted him with the task of capturing from the French and restoring to the English their lost possessions. We came to know that he is worthless and inexperienced. We wished to engage ourselves in this enterprise, but emaciation due to old age and the sickness of our body prevent us. We leave to your hands the untying of this knot which cannot be easily untied. Our good name rests on the release of Chennapatan from the hands of the French and its restoration to the English, on the demand of the expenses of these expeditions from that weak enemy, on the capture of the fort of Pulcheri (Pondicherry) and on the expulsion of the French from the territory of the Carnatic. These should be carried out properly. Finish this work, and let the happy news of your victory spread far and wide”*

Later, when the French, with a view to put an end to the English influence, set up Husayn Dōst Khān (Chanda Ṣāhib) as a claimant to the Nawwābship of the Carnatic, Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur though advanced in age at that time, fought against the French and Husayn Dōst Khān and lost his life in the battle of Ambur in 1749 A.D. In due course the ambition of the French fired by the designs of M. Dupleix, created alarm in the minds of the Governors of the English East India Company. The English clearly understood that under the pretext of supporting the claims of the local princes, the French were formulating ambitious schemes for territorial aggrandisement. So the English employed the same weapon of their enemies, and espoused the cause of Muḥammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, son of Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. The English were more fortunate, their efforts were successful. The peace-treaty concluded at

* *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part I, by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (University of Madras, 1934), page 118,

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Paris in 1763 recognised Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājah I as the lawful ruler of the Carnatic.

In the year 1765 Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādūr was raised, by a *farmān* of the Imperial Court at Delhi to the dignity of a hereditary Nawwāb with the title *Wālājah Amīru'l Hind* and thus from that year the Nawwab of the Carnatic was released completely from all dependence upon and allegiance to the *wazīr* of the Deccan his immediate superior

Muhammad Ali Khān Bahadur Nawwāb Wālājah, the first hereditary sovereign prince was the closest and most loyal friend of the English Company for about forty years. The Company, possessing Madras and Cuddalore by grants from Hindu rulers, and as a military power were allies of the Nawwāb and had transactions with him on terms of equality. But later on when the Nawwāb made successive grants to the Company by *sanad* of Poonamallee and other taluqs, they conducted themselves as vassals of the Nawwāb in respect of their holdings in the Carnatic. Even when the material power of the Company increased after the Nawwāb's grant of the *giltā* of Chingleput with a revenue of eighteen lacs of rupees, the English still continued to be the feudatories of the Nawwāb holding all their territory as *jāgīrs* under a *sanad* from him as the sovereign of the country. These technical and formal relationship between the Nawwāb Wālājah I and the Company continued for a number of years. They did not enter into any treaty or specific agreement whatever. For the first time in 1787 A.D. the Nawwab Wālājāh, after many solicitations by the English, entered into a treaty with the East India Company by which he agreed to pay only a subsidy for the maintenance of the troops. This treaty was revised in 1792 by Lord Cornwallis, the terms of which lightened considerably the burden of payment by the Nawwab. These treaties did not contain any cession of territory by the Nawwāb to the Company.

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Muhammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I died in 1795, his son 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II succeeded him. During his reign no change took place in his political relations with the Company. But at his death in 1801 A. D. the attitude of the English changed considerably. It should also be observed that ever since Lord Cornwallis successfully broke the power of Tippu Sultān of Mysore, the English had been planning to obtain the entire civil and military administration of the Carnatic and to reduce the Nawwāb to the position of a grand pensionary. How this plan was carried out after the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II is of absorbing interest. The present volume gives some details which I have tried to supplement, in Appendices, with lengthy extracts from published records.

A perusal of this volume would suggest the following topics for careful study and research:

(1) How the British managed to take out of the hands of the Nawwāb the administration of the Carnatic without an open rupture and without the employment of force.

(2) A study of the alleged treasonable correspondence, which had passed between Tippu Sultān and the two *wakīls* Ghulām 'Alī Khān and 'Alī Rızā who had accompanied the hostage sons of Tippu Sultān to Madras in 1792, with reference to the plan of the British to obtain for themselves the entire administration of the Carnatic.

(3) Whether the treaty of 1801 concluded by the British with Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III cast any doubt upon the rank and status of the heirs of the Wālājāhī family as hereditary Sovereign Princes?

The other historical facts found in this Part may be summarised as follows

Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, who succeeded in 1801 his cousin 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, died in 1819. He was succeeded by his eldest son

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

A'zam Jah Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV A'zam Jāh died in 1825 and his son Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V was proclaimed by the British as the Nawwāb of the Carnatic. When he died in 1855 without issue Azīm Jah Bahādur second son of Azīmud Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and heir to his nephew according to the Muslim Law claimed to be his successor. But Lord Dalhousie deprived Prince Azīm Jāh of the right of inheritance which accrued to him and offered to give him a state-grant. The Prince, *de jure* Nawwāh of the Carnatic, refused to resign the inheritance of his forefathers or to take the state-grant offered to him. Although this book does not narrate the protracted proceedings between the British and Nawwāb Azīm Jah Bahādur, yet students of history will have interest to study in detail the question whether the heirs of Nawwāb Wālājāh I still remain the hereditary sovereigns of the Carnatic, while the British hold the Carnatic as a *trust* on certain conditions as they still hold Berar which they received from the Nizam of Haydarabad in 1853. This question is a vast one. All the treaties from the days of Lord Cornwallis down to the times of Lord Dalhousie and the contemporary records in the form of letters and minutes of the Board of Directors of the East India Company together with the proceedings instituted in the Parliament by Nawwāb Azīm Jāh Bahādur have to be studied carefully. The result of these studies might convince an impartial student whether or not the members of the Wālājāhī family are mere stipendiaries of the British or their allies.

The editor is highly indebted to the ready and generous help of Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar M.A. Professor of History Annamalai University S India, for the valuable historical notes

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS,
TRIPPLICANE, MADRAS
10th April 1944

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SAWĀNIHĀT-I-MUMTĀZ—Pt IV, CH. 2—(Contd.)

The correspondence between the Governor of Madras and Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, the accession of Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Azīmūḍ-Dawla Bahādur to the throne and the demise of Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur.

TĀJU'L-UMARĀ BAHĀDUR

son of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

Immediately after the dispatch of the coffin of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II to Nattharnagar, Mr. Webbe¹ and Colonel MacNeil² went to the *kachahrī* of Colonel

(1) Josiah Webbe (1768-1804) was appointed a Writer at Fort St George, Madras. He rose gradually in the official cadre, became the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in 1790, Secretary to the Government in 1797, and eventually the first Chief Secretary in 1800 A D. He wrote a minute strongly deprecating the resumption of hostilities against Ṭippū sultān which highly displeased Lord Mornington and the Directors of the Company. He was appointed Resident in Mysore in 1804, and, in a short while, was transferred to Gwalior in the same capacity. On his way to Gwalior he died on the banks of the river Narbada. A monument was erected for Webbe in the Fort Church, Madras.

(2) Greater details are not known about Col. MacNeil than that he was an officer in the Madras Army and placed in charge of troops for safeguarding the Chepauk palace after the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

The troops in charge of Colonel MacNeil comprised three Companies of His Majesty's Scottish Brigade, five Companies of the First Battalion, Fourth

Barrett Bahādur¹ in Fatah-chawki, and sent information of their arrival to Tajul Umarā Bahādur. At that time the Prince was sitting in the outer hall of Fatah-chawki, opposite to Nuṣrat mahall, with Amīru'd Dawla Bahādur, Iftikharu'd Dawla Bahādur, Mubariz Jang Bahādur, Salar Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Mīr Asadullah Khān Bahādur, Taqī Ali Khān Bahādur and others. The Prince was in deep mourning.

Colonel Barrett Bahādur reached the presence of the Prince with Mr Webbe and Colonel MacNeil expressed condolence on his own behalf and on behalf of the Governor, and said ' Lord ṣahib Governor² has the desire to go over here after the *fātiha*³ on the third day for the late Nawwāb. He would

Regiment of Native Infantry and a Subaltern and thirty Europeans, besides one Company of Native Artillery with four six-pounders and thirty troopers from the Governor's Body-guard. He had also permission to requisition, if necessary any portion of the garrison at Fort St. George.

(1) Col Barrett Bahādur was appointed *Diwan* by Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wāliyah II soon after he ascended the throne. He was entrusted with the administration of the revenues of the Nawwāb.

For details see *Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic* Part III pp. 74-78 and also foot-note on p. 18.

(2) Lord Clive was the Governor of Madras at that time 1798-1802 A.D.

(3) On the third day after the burial, the rites known as *siyārat* (visiting) or *phul-charḥānā* (the flower-offering) are performed. On the second day the relatives of the deceased take fruit, food, betel, a sheet made of flowers, sweetmeats, perfumed powder and benzoin pastilles (*'ād baṭī*) and lay them on the spot where the death occurred. On the third day early in the morning, the male relatives and *mullās* take these things to the grave and have a recital of the whole Qurān done by the *mullās* in order to transfer the benefit to the departed soul. The readers of the Qurān are divided into many batches so that the reading of the entire Qurān is finished rapidly. Rich people employ fifty or more *mullās* for this purpose. When this is done they spread a white or other coloured sheet on the grave, lay the flower-sheet over that, and burn pastilles of benzoin. Each man throws a few flowers into the perfumed water and with prayers for the remission of the dead man's sins they rub the powder on the grave over the place where the head and breast of the corpse rest. The *fātiha* is recited, and the food is distributed to the *ḥāfiṣ* or those who know the Qurān by heart, the *mullās*, *faqirs* and the poor. Grain, salt and money are also

CH 2—LORD CLIVE'S MESSAGE TO TAJU'L-UMARĀ

stay in one of the tents, opposite to the iron gate, and like to attain the distinction of interviewing your highness.” Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur was thoughtful for a while and then replied: “I am mourning for the death of my father. I am not in a position just now to give you any reply.” Then they took leave of the Prince, returned to the *kachahrī* of Colonel Barrett Bahādur, and were considering the situation.

Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur said to those present, by way of comment “The Governor's message seeking an interview is sent to me under the cloak of condolence Many evils are hidden under this ”

Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, and a few others who were present, took leave of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, and went to the *kachahrī* of Colonel Barrett Bahādur. The Colonel disclosed the facts to Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur in the presence of the English *sardārs* “Mr Webbe and Colonel MacNeil had given a hint of the Governor's desire. It would be better for the Prince to meet the Governor after the *fātiha* on the third day, and propose to him that he should be crowned as Nawwāb. It is expedient that he should do so. Any other plan will not be suitable.”

Sālār Jang Bahādur gave the following reply. “We are the devoted servants of the *sarkār*. We would communicate to the Prince whatever reaches our ears It rests with the Prince to do as he likes. *‘Kings know what is good for their country.’* ‘Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II shed light on the *masnad*¹ after the *fātiha* on the third day of the death of his father without informing the Governor. Perhaps this Prince also would follow the same plan, and ascend the throne after the *fātiha* for his father on the third day. We, the loyal

distributed Then they say the *fātiha* for all the dead who rest in the cemetery and return home

(1) Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II ascended the throne on the 16th of October, 1795 A D.

servants, cannot but hang on our lips. It is quite possible that the Prince may have such transactions after the coronation."

Mr Webbe informed them that some letters¹ with the seal and signature of Nawwāb 'Umdatul Umara Bahādur, containing details in violation of the treaty, had reached the Governor General in Council, Bengal². It was sent from there to the Governor in Council, Madras, for inquiry during the Nawwāb's illness. If Nawwāh ṣāhib had recovered his health surely an inquiry might have been held in regard to these letters, and the kingdom of the Carnatic could have been confiscated by the Company in recompense for this treachery. Now the transaction of this matter is left to the Prince. The two parties have to draw up a fresh treaty and the Prince has to ratify it. Then he would be permitted to ascend the throne. If he ascends the throne without the consent of the Governor in Council, great trouble would come upon him. Colonel Barrett Bahādur and Salār Jang Bahādur were very much perplexed by this speech. Iftikharud Dawla Bahādur addressed Mr Webbe thus:

'It is highly improper to accuse the late Nawwah ṣāhib in this manner. It would not have been possible for the Company to confiscate the kingdom during the days of the late Nawwab ṣāhib. You cannot do any such thing. The growth of the power of the *frang* community in this country was due to the friendly regard and good will of Muhammad Ali Bahādur Nawwāb Wāljāh I³. Therefore such indecent remarks are not proper. There is no necessity for the son and successor to obtain permission from the Governor in Council to ascend the throne.

(1) This is known in history as the Serīngapatam Correspondence. For details see Appendix A.

(2) The Governor-General at the period was Lord Mornington, Marquess of Wellesley 1793-1803 A.D.

(3) Muhammad Ali Bahādur Nawwāb Wāljāh I was the Nawwāb of the Carnatic from 1749-1795 A.D.

Mr Webbe raged at Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur thus: "Khān ṣāhib! This matter pertains to the kingdom and government. It is not right that you should poke your nose into these affairs. We know our job. There is no hereditary right for government. Whoever strikes with the sword, he will establish his rule."

Colonel Barrett Bahādur, Taqī Ālī Khān Bahādur, and Sālār Jang Bahādur got up from that place, and represented to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur the altercation with Mr. Webbe. The Prince was very much distressed. He came to a resolution, and, on the 6th of Rabī'u'l-awwal at Fatah-chawkī, he accepted *nadhr* from Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Taqī Ālī Khān Bahādur, and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, and others, in all about thirty men. The *ināyatnāmas* with the seal and signature of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur were sent by *ḍāk* to the *āmils* in every part of the country, confirming their authority.

Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur¹ who was present in the *majlis* when the *ināyatnāmas* were dispatched, went to Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur,² narrated to him in secrecy every detail, and returned to his own residence. When Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam³ and others got information of this unpleasant news, they considered that Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur was not worthy of the claim. Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam made preparations to write letters to the Governor-in-Council showing her opposition and

(1) Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was the son of Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, the second son of Muhammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, who predeceased his father.

(2) Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur was the son of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, the first sister of Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

(3) Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam enjoyed the confidence of her brother, Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. There is a great interest as to the part played by this sister of the Nawwāb.

For details see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III—Introduction, pp. 7-8.

that of the other members of the family to the claims of Tajul Umara Bahādur, on the ground of the illegitimacy of his birth

Next day, after saying the *ṣāliha* of *ṣayarat*, Tajul Umarā Bahādur rode in the *sukṣā van* of his late father at about 9 o'clock in the morning, and went into the *dīwān khāna* of Kalas-mahall with Sālār Jang Bahādur Bahrām Jang Bahadur, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahadur and some other nobles followed by armed *jawāns*, orderlies *bāndārs* and *alghōzanawāns*. He accepted *nadhīr* from some people, and stayed there for about two or three hours. He gave orders to Babram Jang Bahadur, and Sālār Jang Bahadur to arrange to furnish the big *dīwān khāna*, and write letters of invitation requesting every one to be present for the coronation on Friday the 10th of Rabī ul awwal. Then he went to Fatah-chawk.

As soon as Colonel MacNeil got this information, he went to the big *dīwān khāna* and inquired of Bahrām Jang Bahadur and Sālār Jang Bahadur. Why did Tajul Umarā Bahadur come to that place? What orders did he give? They replied "The Prince, ever since the date of the demise of his father, has been keeping himself to one place, and this seclusion has caused a little palpitation. He came over here for a change, stayed for about an hour and then went away. Then the Colonel asked "Why did he give orders for furnishing the *dīwān khāna* and sending invitations to come to the coronation? They replied It is not necessary that orders should be given in regard to these affairs. As he is still feeling sorrow for the death of his father he could not make preparations for his coronation. By the grace of Allāh, for certain he will give his attention to it to-day or to-morrow. It is incumbent on us to make everything ready for the coronation even before he gives orders for that. Whenever he expresses his happy desire on that, we the well wishers, would obey his command."

CH. 2—TĀJU'L-UMARĀ MEETS LORD CLIVE

Colonel MacNeil communicated these details to the Governor-in-Council. According to the direction of the Governor-in-Council, Colonel MacNeil marched immediately with guards to the *dīvān-khāna* of Kalas-mahall, and posted them in all places, with instructions that they should not permit any one of the *‘ilāqadārs* of the *sarkār* to enter the place. He also posted guards at the gates of Fatah-chawkī, Nusrat-mahall, and the house of the mother of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur. Then he sent the following oral message to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur through Colonel Barrett Bahādur. "To-morrow Lord *ṣahib* will be in his tent in *Baḡh-i-khāṣṣ* adjoining the iron gate for the purpose of meeting the Prince. His highness also should go over there and meet him "

In accordance with the advice offered by Colonel Barrett Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, and others, Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur started to the Governor's tent the next day at about 8 A M in great state with all the paraphernalia like *mōrchāl*, *āftāb-gīrī* and *alḡhōzanarwāz*. Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur went alone into the Governor's tent, leaving Sālār Jang Bahādur and others in a separate tent, talked with the Governor for about an hour, and then returned to his residence. In the meanwhile, letters from Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, bearing also the seals of the other members of the royal family, disputing Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur's title to the throne, and expressing their unwillingness to take the oath of allegiance to him, reached the Governor-in-Council. The Prince met the Governor twice or thrice in the same manner as on the first day¹. On the fourth day

(1) There seems to be some difference in the account given by the author of this book and the information available in English records. It appears from the English records that Messrs Webbe and Close had dealings with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur's advisers like Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur and others.

For details of the report of Messrs Webbe and Close on their negotiations to come to an agreement with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and his advisers,

there was disagreement between the Prince and the Governor. At the time of leave taking on the fourth day, the Prince was not shown the respect befitting his state. The guards were stopped from playing the *rīs* and *tambūr* for it was decided by the Governor in Council that Tājūl Umara Bahādur had not the status to ascend the throne and that some other arrangement should be made in regard to the question of succession.

Tājūl Umara Bahādur returned to his residence with great mental agitation and told Colonel Barrett Bahadur, and Sālar Jang Bahādur 'Till this day the Governor and other *sardārs* showed me the respect befitting the state of my grandfather and father. But to-day on account of disagreement in opinion there was a notable change in their behaviour at the time of meeting and leave taking. It seems to me that death is better than this life.' Then he went to his mother's house.

Section 5

Āzīmūd Dawla Bahadur was mourning for the death of Nawwab 'Umdatul Umara Bahadur. Tājūl Umara Bahādur in accordance with the advice of his late father, was very affectionate and fond of Āzīmūd Dawla Bahadur. They took dinner always together. Āzīmūd Dawla Bahadur, out of regard for the love and tenderness shown to him by the Prince, kept company with him night and day. His intimate friendship and good fellowship struck every one. On learning the cordial amity between the two princes, Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n nisa Begam prevented Āzīmūd Dawla Bahadur from visiting her house, for she doubted that he might communicate her plans to Tājūl Umara Bahadur.

Some days passed. Āzīmūd Dawla Bahādur learnt that the question of succession was in a state of confusion. He also found out that Tājūl Umara Bahādur was disturbed over this

and other events leading to the accession of Āzīmūd Dawla Bahādur to the *mamad* of the Carnatic see extracts from official papers given in Appendix B.

affair On a Friday Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur went away to his house on the pretext of bathing and took up his residence there On the morning of Saturday when he was taking a walk in front of his house, suddenly by the grace of the most benevolent and eternal Lord, by the help of the Prophet, the exalted leader of the world, and by the protection of Mahbūb Subhānī, Colonel MacNeil, who used to go round the *bāgh* every day with some orderlies, appeared at the gate. As soon as he caught sight of Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the Colonel inquired of his men about him and learnt that he was the son of Madāru'l-mulk Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur The Colonel communicated immediately this information to the Governor who was anxiously looking for such a candidate to the *Wālājāhī* throne. The Governor was very much pleased with the news and gave orders to Colonel MacNeil thus. "You must go with great haste and post the guards, under your command, round about his apartments Then make salaams to him on my behalf and communicate that the Governor sāhib desires to meet him in his tent to-morrow or the day after" The Colonel did as he was bidden. Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was a bit puzzled over the news and apprehended that it might reach the ears of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur

The Prince also remembered why his father often advised¹ him not to keep himself away from the company of Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur It may be, the members of the Governor's Council had been planning to seat him on the throne When this idea recurred to him, he shuddered to think what might happen He sent Shaykh Bāban, his orderly, with the following oral message to Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur

(1) Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II advised his son Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur as follows

'It is necessary that you stay always with him and inquire after him Diné with him and do not leave him alone', See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, p 178

"Hayrat

"It is two days since we met. You have not conferred dignity upon me by your company. Please honour me by your visit. We may dine together."

At that time Azīmud Dawla Bahādur was in his house, being watched by guards. So he deemed that he could not go out and sent a reply thus

'My dear brother,

"Please excuse me. I am unable just now to go over to your place."

Next morning at about 7 o'clock Colonel MacNeil went to the house of Azīmud Dawla Bahadur with a *sukṣāwan* and armed *jawāns*. He seated the prince inside the *sukṣāwan* and conducted him in state to the Governor. Lord Clive ṣahib, Mr Wehbe, Colonel Close¹ and a few other *sardārs* received him in a manner befitting his state and discussed with him the details pertaining to the administration of the kingdom and the question of succession that was in dispute. Azīmud Dawla Bahadur agreed to all their proposals saying 'I shall act upon the suggestion of the Lord ṣahib. Whatever is good and proper to you will be suitable to me. Barring my dependence upon Allāh and His prophet I am under the protection of the Company. I have no fear. Allāh the compassionate Lord, will do everything in the proper way.'

Lord Clive ṣahib and other *sardārs* felt very happy comforted him, and sent him back to his palace in great state. They posted two armed *jawāns* at every door of his palace.

(1) Sir Barry Close (1756-1813) was appointed to the Madras Army in 1771. He was besieged at Tellicherry by the troops of Haydar Ali in 1780 A.D. When Seringapatam was besieged by the English in 1792 and 1799 Close was present there as Deputy and Assistant Adjutant-General and his services were warmly acknowledged by General Harris, the Commander in Chief.

Close was appointed Resident of Mysore in 1799. Two years later he was transferred to Poona as Resident and held that office for ten years. As Resident he negotiated the Treaty of Bassein, December 1802, with Baji Rao the Peshwa.

In the course of the interview, Lord Clive sāhib observed: "The members of the Governor's Council have decided that your highness should stay in Amīr-bāgh for some days. When everything is made ready and the *dārul-amāra* is fitted up, they would conduct you to Kalas-mahall for the coronation. During the period of your highness' stay at Kalas-mahall, one of the Company guards and a trooper will keep guard, and a *chārat* drawn by four horses also will be available for drive." On learning this joyful news, 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur felt very happy. Then they took leave of the Prince.

The Governor sent a large sum of money from the Company's treasury for the expenses of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur. Out of this amount he first celebrated the *fātiha* on the 12th of Rabī'u'l-awwal¹. Then he arranged for necessary things and started to Amīr-bāgh with *mahallāt*.

'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur invited his father's companions and employed them in his service. After receiving information from the Governor, the signet of the Nawwāb-designate, inscribed with the words, *Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur* was got ready in Amīr-bāgh. Lord Clive sāhib arranged to decorate the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-mahall, got ready on behalf of the Governor-in-Council, letters inviting all the members of the royal family and nobles to attend the coronation, and dispatched them. This news caused anxiety to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, and the members of the royal family.

One morning, before the coronation, Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur,² who resided behind Amīr-bāgh, called on 'Azīmu'd-

(1) Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam (on him be peace) departed this life on the 12th of Rabī'u'l-awwal and on this day all the Muslims observe the *fātiha* for the Prophet.

(2) He was the third son of Muhammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. His name was Muhammad Anwar, known as Hājī Miyān, and was styled *Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Anwāru'd-Dawla Muhammad Anwar Khān Bahādur Husām Jang*.

Dawla Bahādur As soon as the Nawwāb's arrival was reported to him he proceeded to welcome him as far as the *sukṣāwan*, received him, and conducted him to the house with great hombleness and reverence. Nawwab Sayfu'l Molk Bahādur was pleased with him, expressed good wishes for his long life, joy and success, and said "May yoo be worthy of this rank received from the almighty Allāh exalted be He. I hope your family may keep this high rank from generatloo to generation. As for those who are causing obstruction in the matter, it will be ineffectual and useless. They will achieve nothing but ill fame and notoriety. I shall be the first to receive my allowance through you, for there is absolutely no doubt about the permanence of your government. But, outwardly, I must do as other relatives in this matter. Else they will scandalise me. I will not also be present for the coronation. I may be excused for that. You must not harbour evil thoughts on that score.

Azīmu'd Dawla Bahādur was very glad to hear these kind and affectionate words. Then he said "I have need of two *gulāb pāshī*, *pāndān* *īrdān*, silver *changār* and two or three trays for presenting *khulūt*. I may be honoured with the grant of these articles, which will be returned after the work for them is finished." Nawwāb Sayfu'l Molk Bahadur agreed to send them and went back to his residence. He sent all the things as per request with the message "These are yours. Yoo may keep them in your *kār khāna* and there is no need to return them. The Nawwah-designate felt very happy to receive these gifts, and set himself to arrange for other affairs



Azimu'd Dawla Bahadur Nawwāb Wāḥjāh III—1801 1819

‘AZĪMU’D-DAWLA BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH III.

“ Praise be to the Creator of all beings, thanks to the
Giver of all gifts.”

The day dawned on the 19th of Rabī‘u’l-awwal¹ raising the veil of darkness, and the rising sun shed lustre upon the country, when Nawwāb sāhib—the asylum of nobility and generosity, the refuge of the distressed, the choicest embodiment of bravery, the ruler that gives light to his subjects, the precious gem that throws light on the government, the fountain-head of refined manners and fineness of feeling, the source of generosity, the purest and most perfect manifestation of the Wālājāhī family—Amīru’l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb ‘Azīmu’d-Dawla Bahādur arrayed himself up in rich robes and ornaments set with precious stones, and started from Amīr-bāgh at 9 A. M. He was accompanied by all the *sardārs* of the Governor’s Council, the English army, and the paraphernalia of the government, and was followed by a large crowd of people. Thus he went to the *wālājāhī dārul-amāra*, where he took his seat on the throne and shed radiance ²

Immediately after his entry into the *bāgh*, and after he had added grace to the throne with his presence, a salute of guns was fired from the *bāgh*, the fort of Madras (Fort St. George), and ships. All the *sardārs* of the Governor’s Council addressed the Nawwāb with expressions of sympathetic joy on his accession to the throne. After accepting *nadh*r from officers

(1) Friday 31st July, 1801 A. D.

(2) The verses which bring out the chronogram of the coronation are given in Appendix C

who were present in very large numbers, the Nawwāb expressed his thanks to the Governor and other *sardārs* for their benevolence and kindness

Then he recommended to the Governor that *jāgīrs* might be conferred upon the members of the royal family. The Governor said in reply "So far none of the members of the royal family had turned up to offer *nadhīr*. We shall wait for some hours, and see who all come." The Nawwāb gave orders for distributing *īfr*, *gulāb*, and *pāndān* to the Governor the *sardārs* and all those present at the *majlis*. The Governor stayed at that place for some hours looking forward to meet the members of the royal family there. As no one made his appearance, the Governor broke up the assembly. Nawwāb ṣahīb accompanied the Governor and other *sardārs* as far as the gate of the *dīwān khāna* at the time of leave taking.

In the meanwhile Amīrūd Dawla Bahadur and Iftikharūd Dawla Bahadur, who came with *āftāb gīrā* near the gate of the *dīwān khāna*, met the Governor and made salaams to him. Mr. Webbe went nearer to them and said "You did not come at the time of the coronation of the Nawwāb of the Carnatic but you trouble yourself now by going over here."

Iftikharūd Dawlā Bahadur replied "The Nawwāb of the Carnatic was Nawwāb 'Umdatul Umara Bahadur. After him Tāju'l Umara Bahādur his son is the ruler of the Carnatic. Invitation to us is not from him. We come now in response to the invitation of the Lord ṣahīb.

Mr. Webbe who had the hint from the Governor said "Nawwāb 'Umdatul Umara Bahādur did not leave a son by his *khāṣṣ mahall*. The statements and letters from the members of the royal family do not establish the parentage of Tāju'l Umara Bahādur. Consequently those who possess authority decided to do whatever is expedient. By means of their benevolence and kindness Nawwāb Aḡīmūd Dawla Bahādur the grand son of Muḥammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, was

CH 2—DEATH OF TĀJU'L-UMARĀ BAHĀDUR

seated upon the throne. Whoever wants the friendship of the Company, let him wish the Nawwāb of the Carnatic well, and obey him and make all representations through him; else redressing of grievances will be impossible without his good will."

Iftikḥāru'd-Dawla Bahādur with a wry face expressing annoyance, broke into invective against Mr Webbe and left the place. The Governor and the *sardārs* of the Council returned home

The Governor-in-Council resolved that as long as the traces of the Company's influence remain in this country, Iftikḥāru'd-Dawla Bahādur should not be granted maintenance allowance, and the gratuity fixed for his wife should be sufficient for him also. This order was irrevocable

Section 6.

Some days after the coronation, the Nawwāb Bēgam sāḥiba spent thousands of rupees and brought back to original state by rebuilding and repairing Kalas-maḥall and added lustre to it by her presence

After dealing effectually with all affairs, the English troops departed from the *bāgh*, and went to the Fort -

Section 7.

Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur continued to stay in Nusrat-maḥall till he was in possession of that building and Fataḥ-chawkī. After the Nawwāb took possession of these buildings, Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur stayed at the house of Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam for some time. When he suffered from excessive discharge of blood, he moved in the house of his mother, where, after three days, he passed away on the 1st of *Dhu'l-hajj*, 1216 A H, reciting, in his last moment, the following verse composed by himself.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV—Pt IV

‘I am patient like Husayn,¹ afflicted with wounds from head to foot,

I wish my place is in Karbalā’

Immediately after hearing the news of the demise of Tajul Umarā Bahadur, Nawwab shāhib felt sorrow at his death in the prime of life, and sent messages of condolence to his mother and wife through Qurban Ali Khān. The Nawwab always mourned for him.

THIRD CHAPTER

1215-1216 A H

The description of the courteousness of Amīrul Hind Walājāh Nawwāb Aḡīmūd Dawla Bahādur the return of the members of the royal family to the obedience of the Nawwāb the kindly feeling and consideration of the Nawwāb towards them the demise of the Nawwāb, the coronation of Nawwāb Aḡam Jāh Bahādur his excellent administration, his death the succession of Nawwāb Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur to the Walājāhī throne and the regency of the great Amīr son of an Amīr ‘o councillor with great wisdom, namely the exalted Nawwāb Aḡim Jāh Bahādur

It is clear as day that Aḡīmūd Dawla Bahadur Nawwab Walājāh III, out of his kind and benevolent nature, endeavoured always to recommend to the Governor in Council, that the members of the royal family should be given maintenance allowances,² in spite of their demeanour towards him. He

(1) Imām Husayn, was the second son of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad (on him be peace) by her husband Ali, the fourth *khaliḡa*.

Imām Husayn died at Karbalā in 61 A.H., cruelly slain in his conflict with Yazid, the son of Muāwiya who became *khaliḡa* after Ali.

(2) For details about allowance to the members of the royal family see Appendix D

CH. 3—DISMISSAL OF BAHRĀM JANG

tried often to meet his relatives and brought his personal interest to bear upon their welfare

Section 2

After the coronation of Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and during the life-time of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur who had experience and practical knowledge of all details, presented himself before the Nawwāb, attended to all business of the government and tendered his advice on matters pertaining to transactions with the Governor-in-Council. When the English got information of this fact they offered advice to the Nawwāb "Bahrām Jang Bahādur is not worthy of your highness' association, for, it was at the instance of this person, that letters¹ having harmful effects were written to others during the time of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. Therefore it is better to shun him". Nawwāb sāhib was a devoted friend of the Company. He never did anything in opposition to the opinion of the representatives of the Company. They also spoke and wrote at all times in praise of Nawwāb sāhib. Hence the Nawwāb immediately prevented Bahrām Jang Bahādur from coming to the *bāgh*. He appointed Mawlawī Muhammad Ghawth sāhib, his old teacher, as *dīwān*, to attend to the affairs of his Government. The title *Sharafu'l-Mulk Mawlawī Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur* was conferred upon him, and as a mark of favour, he was given *jawāhīrāt* and also the privilege of *nawbat*.

The Nawwāb bestowed upon the princes the titles *Amīr* and *Jāh*, and upon the brothers of the Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā the titles *Sharafu'l-Umarā Bahādur* and *Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur*.

Husayn Nawāz Khān I'timādu'l-Mulk was favoured with the title *Azamul-Umarā*, Hāfiz Ahmad Khān, with the title *Alāu'd-Dawla Bahādur*, Jāwīd Khān Bahādur with *Tāju'd-*

(1) This refers to the Seringapatam Correspondence. See Appendix A.

Dawla Bahādur, and *Laḥf Beg Khān* with *Qāyīm Jang Bahādur*. In this manner he conferred dignity upon every one by granting titles and appointing them to situations according to rank. He also gave them *inʿām*, presented *khulāt* and *duḡhāla*. He did not attach importance to gold and silver he dealt with them as dust. He never even cared to have a look at the monthly collections of *qisṭ*.

Some of the members of the royal family, who had too high an opinion of themselves did not yield submission to Nawwāh ṣāhib for a long time. They suffered many privations and after living in reproach and ignominy for several years, they returned to the obedience of the Nawwāb. He forgave them out of his kind and charitable feeling and granted interviews to every one according to rank. He interceded on their behalf and restored their maintenance allowances due from the Company and also obtained sanction for the payment of arrears due to them from the Company. He was free in giving them thousands of rupees on occasions like marriage, etc. He fixed gratuity from the funds of his own Government for men from Gopamaw. He showed kindness to all and acted always philanthropically.

He sent *nadhīr* to Makka the honoured Madīna the illuminated and other holy places. Soon after he ascended the throne, he fixed a *nadhīr* of forty rupees to be given every month in the name of Janab Sayyid Maẓlūm (Imām Husayn) from the 1st of Muharram to two *rayyids* for their maintenance. This grant is continued to this day.

He obtained for Sulṭānu'n nisa Bēgam and Ra'isul Umara Bahādur permission from the Company to go to *Baytullah* and visit other holy places presented them with thousands of rupees from his own treasury and sent them on board a ship in great state. He also arranged with the Company that they should continue to pay the allowances of these members all through their life. In brief he was an excellent monarch. In

CH 3—DEATH OF NAWWAB AZIMUD-DAWLA BAHADUR

a narration of his praiseworthy traits the pen is prostrate, its tongues broken.

May Allāh, exalted be He, permit the beneficence and generosity of this glorious person to continue for long years May the people in Madras and visitors from distant lands continue to receive help from this bountiful person, and gain their desire

Section 3

It is incumbent on one and all to pass away from this ephemeral world to the everlasting sphere as per the verse of the holy Qurān "Everyone is doomed to destruction". In accordance with this decree, the Nawwāb, who, like a sun, shed radiance around his subjects, breathed his last on the 9th of Shawwāl, 1234 A H ¹ (August, 1819 A D.) and immersed every one in deep sorrow. The vast crowd that assembled in the *Jāmi'-masjid*² to say the prayer for the departed soul, was indicative of the extreme grief and keen regret of the people at the loss of their benevolent ruler

"Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return".

(1) The verses which bring out the chronogram of the death of Azīmud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III are given in Appendix E

(2) This refers to the Wālājāhī mosque situated on the Triplicane High Road, Madras.



Azam Jāh Bahadur Nawwab Wālājāh IV.—1820 1825

AZAM JĀH BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH IV.

By means of the unmerited favour of God, and the kindness of the exalted Prophet, a successor to Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur came in the person of Nawwāb A'zam Jāh Bahādur, radiating love and joy, on the 17th of Rabī'u'th-thānī, 1235 A.H.,¹ seven months² after the demise of his predecessor, and his bounty diffused itself through the length and breadth of the land.

By the help of God, his administration was far better than it was before. He conferred dignity upon every one by granting *mansabs* and service according to rank. He appointed as *dīwān* Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, his dear brother, a sagacious and wise councillor, just as Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, his noble grandfather, was *dīwān* to Muhammad Āli Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV entrusted with his brother all matters even to the smallest detail. Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, the *dīwān*, managed every undertaking with such wisdom and prudence, that the Nawwāb sāhib was delighted with him. The people also were contented with his courteousness, justice, equity, and his other eminent qualities, and made devout supplication to God night and day for his long life and prosperity.

A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV appointed as *nā'ib* Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur, his maternal uncle, a person of rank, merit and importance, at the time of his departure in

(1) The chronogram of the coronation of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV is given in Appendix F

(2) A note on the delay in the recognition of A'zam Jāh Bahādur as the Nawwāb is given in Appendix G

great state to the holy town of Nagūr¹ with a large retinue. All relatives, *mahallāt* and officers went with him, a number of literary men and English *sardārs* formed part of the *entourage* and a body of English soldiers also acted as escorts to the Nawwāb. Lakhs of rupees were spent on this trip. The Governor in Council issued orders that a salute of guns should be fired in all garrisons and forts in accordance with the regulations of the Company.

By the help of God the Nawwab reached Nāgūr, paid a visit to the holy shrine and fulfilled his desire. Then he returned through Tanjore with all his retinue and reached Nattharnagar where he had the happiness to offer *fātiha* to saints enshrined there. Then he journeyed through Vellore, and Muhammadpur (Arcot) and reached Madras safely after nearly four months. He had the good fortune to offer *fātiha* to saints enshrined in all the towns he visited. Plentiful praise be to Allāh. No ruler of the Carnatic since Muhammad Ali Bahādur Nawwab Wālājāh I had such a good fortune. A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV conferred dignity upon every town by his liberality.

Mumtāzu'l Umara Bahādur acted as the *nā'ib* as per the desire of Nawwab šāhib and managed every affair very carefully. In recognition of his services, Nawwab Wālājāh IV appointed him as *bakhshī*.

Nawwab Wālājāh IV favoured Awliyā šāhib his old friend with the title *Haftgullāh Khān Bahādur Hāfiṣ Yār Jong* and presented him with *nīm-āsīn* and *rumāl-shāl* from

(1) Ghulam Abdul-Qādir Naṣir who accompanied A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV on his pilgrimage to Nāgūr has given a detailed account of the journey from Madras to Nāgūr in his Persian book *Bahār-i A'zamjāhī* mentioning whatever came to his notice every day on the road covered by the royal party with the names of villages, tombs of saints, mosques, *sardār* buildings, tanks, gardens and other things of interest.

This book is done into English and it will be published by the Madras University as the Fifth Part in this series.

CH. 3—BENEFACCTIONS OF NAWWĀB A'ẒAM JĀH

his own wardrobe. The other servants also were honoured with titles and presents according to rank.

The Nawwāb was also a pious founder of charities, and he devoted himself to works of mercy in a greater measure than the rulers before him. He spent a large sum of money and renovated the *Jāmi'-masjid*, besides furnishing the minarets with golden *kalas*. These facts are well-known to all.

Muhammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, during his reign, dispatched *qandīls* to Makka the honoured, and Madīna the illuminated, and a ladder, made of sandal wood, for the use of pilgrims in holy *Ka'ba* at Makka.

This Nawwāb, during his reign, got ready in the *dīwān-khāna* of *Shādī-mahall*, a gilded ladder covered with elaborate ornamentation of English design, after a fashion such as he loved, employing Sayyid *Ṣibghatullāh*, an expert in this work, and dispatched it by ship to the holy town on the last day of *Dhulhajj*, through Sayyid Imāmu'd-Dīn, an intelligent and experienced person, and other men in the employ of the *sarkār*. Thanks to Allāh! This gift reached its destination in a few days, fulfilling his intention.

By the help of Allāh, when the happy news of its safe arrival in the holy *Ka'ba*, reached the devout Nawwāb sāhib, he prostrated himself as a token of submission to the Almighty.

The Nawwāb appointed Mawlawī *Bukhārī* sāhib as *hākīm-i-shara'* to protect the rights of those entitled to have justice. He held that office for some time. Then Muftī Badru'd-Dawla Bahādur was appointed in his place. Every one who had justice and truth on his side, had his claims satisfied in accordance with the rule established by *sharī'at*. None was debarred from this right and privilege, and made to feel helpless against the wrong-doer. In brief, the Nawwāb's purpose in religious matters was of such a lofty nature that a description of it lays the writing reed prostrate, its tongues broken.

The affairs of this life are transient, and no one gets respite when the appointed hour comes. On the 1st of Rabi' u th thānī, 1241 A H.,¹ the candle that shed light on the family of exalted rank was quenched by the violent wind of death, and immersed the world in darkness.

‘ Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return’

(1) The verses which bring out the chronogram of the death of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wāṣṣjāh IV are given in Appendix H.



Muhammad Ghawth Khan Bahadur Nawwāb Walajāh V
1825-1855

GHULĀM MUHAMMAD GHAWTH KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH V.

As the world was plunged in deep sorrow and grief over the death of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, his son, succeeded to the throne of his father, by the help of Allāh, exalted be He, on the 12th of Jumādīu'l-awwal, 1241 A.H.¹ shedding radiance everywhere. His claim to the title was supported and confirmed by his venerable uncle, Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, the beloved brother of the late A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV

Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur was the most unique person ever found in his time. He was the Hātim² of his age, without a rival in his estimate of men and things, an excellent administrator, illustrious by birth and rank, brave as a lion, preciously generous, well-versed in religion and experienced in the art of governing. He was like a sun in meting out justice, proficient in the affairs of the kingdom, a man of light and leading, the fountain of bounty, and the embodiment of munificence and liberality.

May Allāh, exalted be He, keep Nawwāb Muhammad / Ghawth Khān Bahādur under the benign care of the exalted Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur

As Nawwāb Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur was a minor, Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, in accordance with the orders of the Governor-in-Council, both from Madras and

(1) The verses which give the date of the coronation of Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V are given in Appendix I

(2) Hātim of the tribe of Tayyī' was celebrated in the whole of Arabia for his unbounded generosity. He protected the poor, entertained the guests, satisfied the hungry and consoled the afflicted. He never turned away any who sought of him a favour.

Bengal and of the King of England, assumed the reins of Government and conducted the affairs of the state as Regent.¹ He managed everything well giving satisfaction to all. The cords of friendship and amity between the Nawwāb and the English were maintained by keeping up correspondence with the Company and the English king. All kinds of people were pleased with his rule, courteousness, kindness, and his experience and knowledge. Nawwāb Begam ṣahiba, the mother of Nawwāb Āḡim Jāh was well pleased with the manner of his administration and his feeling of reverence for her. All the members of the family from the young to the more advanced in age, and officers of all ranks, were grateful to him for his numerous gifts they expressed their heartfelt thanks and regarded him with reverence.

In accordance with his good faith the Nawwāb Regent made arrangements every year to celebrate the birth of the exalted Prophet (peace be on him) in the month of Rabī' ul awwal. He arranged to decorate the *dīwān khāna* of Kalas-mahall every night from the 3rd to the 11th of that month with *qandil* and *farsh* and beautified it with the picture of the city of Madīna the illuminated. The lamps were burnt from the time of the *sun set prayer* till midnight. All the *amīrs* nobles *ulims* *shaykhs* and officers assembled there in response to the invitation partook of food after *fātiha* and listened to *ḥadīth* and *manāqib* of the Prophet, that would bring them good luck in both the worlds. On the morning of the 12th all the guests presented themselves, clad in rich and clean clothes, moved in a group round the picture of Madīna, and then listened to the *khutba* : *ḥadīth* and *manāqib*. After the *khutba* the Nawwāb-Regent presented every one who took part in the recitation with *khilāt dushālā shāl* or cash according to rank. A salute of twenty-one guns in recognition of the celeb-

(1) The verses which commemorate the date of the appointment of Nawwāb Āḡim Jāh Bahādur as Regent are given in Appendix J

CH. 3—REGENCY OF NAWWAB AZIM JAH BAHADUR

ration, was fired from the *bāgh*, and the fort of Madras The Nawwāb issued orders that a salute should be fired from his own army By the time they went through this programme, food would be ready for *fātiha* After saying *fātiha*, they had their food.

Section 4

Arrangements of the same kind were made for celebration in the month of Rabī'ū'th-thānī Every evening from the first of that month all *'āhims*, *fāzils* and *shaykhs* assembled in the *dīwān-khāna* of Humāyūn-mahall after the *sun-set prayer* and had their dinner after saying *fātiha* for Mahbūb-Subhānī¹ Then they listened to the sayings and the *manāqib* of the exalted saint In accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb-Regent, other guests presented themselves in good faith, listened to the sayings and *manāqib* of the holy saint and received immense benefit by it On the morning of the 11th also the Nawwāb made arrangements for a *majlis* when *fātiha* was said and food served to all Thus the Nawwāb-Regent raised his own reputation

The Regent kept up other *fātihas* in memory of the holy saints of Islam every month on dates fixed as per custom He

(1) Sayyid or *Shaykh* 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī Husaynul-Husaynī was the founder of the Qādiriyya order of mendicants He takes his name *Jilānī* from his birth place Jilān or Gilān in Western Persia

He was born in 1078 A D and joined to divine mercy in February 1166, at Baghdād, where his tomb is still held in great veneration He is esteemed as the chief *walī* or saint.

The festival of this saint, *Pir-i-Dastgīr*, is held on the 11th of Rabī'ū'th-thānī. His holiness (may Allāh sanctify his resting place) has ninety-nine names The chief and the best known are *Pīrān-i-pīr* 'chief of saints', *Ghawthul-A'zam* 'the great saint', *Ghawthul-ṣamadānī*, the eternal saint, *Mahbūb-i-subhānī* 'the beloved divine', *Mū'ān-Muḥyiyūd-Dīn* 'the reviver of religion'

For details on the festival of *Pir-i-Dastgīr* see Herklots, *Islam in India*, pp 192-194

also observed the anniversary of the birth day of Nawwāh Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khan Bahadur Amīrūl Hind Walājah V on the 20th of Rabi'uth-thani the anniversary of his coronation on the 12th of Jumadi'ul awwal, and also the anniversary of his own birth day on the 21st of Jumadi'ul awwal. The yearly returns of these dates were celebrated with great rites and festivities all people were favoured with presents of *jawāhurāt* according to rank and ennobled with titles or presents of *khilāt* or *dushālā*

Section 5

Nawwāb Azīm Jah Bahadur the Regent, regarded Mumtāzu'l Umara Amīrūl Mulk Bahādur as the most unique man of his times a good judge of character and qualities well versed in the affairs of government, with incomparable good disposition and excellence and looked upon him as the most distinguished person In recognition of his merits the Nawwab Regent appointed him as *dīwān* although he was holding already the office of *bakhshi* of the *sarkār*

During the days of Muhammad Ali Bahadur Nawwāh Walājah I Nawwab Amīrūl Umarā Bahadur who was appointed to the office of *dīwān* by his father was diligent and attentive to his duties. In the same manner Mumtāzu'l Umarā also applied himself to his work as *dīwān* with such wisdom in accordance with the traditions handed down from his ancestors, that the Nawwāb-Regent was well pleased and delighted with his administration The officers in the *darbār* as well as the *mutawassilīn* of the *sarkār* were grateful to him

Umdatul 'Ulamā Mufti Badrud Dawla Bahādur the dear brother of Sharaful Mulk Bahādur, a distinguished man in his knowledge of law, and elevator of the flag of *sharī'at* held the post of *bakhshi* of the *sarkār* The Nawwab seated this Umdatul 'Ulamā on the *masnad* of *sharī'at* to protect the rights of those entitled to have justice, give peace to the

CH 3—REGENCY OF NAWWAB AZIM JAH BAHĀDUR

people at large and preserve the good name and dignity of the members of the royal family

Mawlawī Jamālū'd-Dīn Hasan Khān, the officer who was executing the orders of the court of justice, was dismissed for his unwise conduct in following the manner of Mawlawī Rāmpūrī, and in his place Mawlawī Ahmad Kalīm Khān, an able and wise person was appointed

Some of the petitions presented to the Nawwāb were inquired into by Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur according to his direction. Mumtāzu'l-Umarā held his court of inquiry in the *kachahrī Dīwānī* and passed excellent judgments on matters that came up for hearing

Mawlawī Shihābu'd-Dīn Khān was in charge of the *madrasa* for males maintained by the *sarkār*. The *madrasa* was open to all who wished to derive benefit from a knowledge of religion. Muftī Badru'd-Dawla was the Director of the *madrasa*

A'zam Nawāz Khān, son of Hājī Maghribī sāhib, who was one of the old companions of Muhammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, was appointed *mutawallī* of mosques

Qudratullāh Khān was appointed *mutawallī* to look after the tombs of Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV in the compound of the *Jāmi'-masjid*

Tuesday was a holiday for learned men in religion. On that day Qāzī Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, Mawlawī Jamāl sāhib and other 'ālims remained in the presence of the Nawwāb-Regent at the time of *darbār* for about an hour, discussing the laws and problems connected with religion. The discussions of Nawwāb-Regent with 'ālims always centred round the *Qur'ān* and Traditions.¹ Sometimes, men assembled in the

1) *Hadīth* (Traditions) During the life-time of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) it was the custom that when two Muslims met, one should ask for news (*hadīth*) and the other should relate a saying or

darbār made petitions to the Regent and he inquired into them. About the time of the *afternoon prayer* he dismissed the *darbār* and said the prayer with the congregation and then went on a *rawn sawdārī* as usual.

On Friday, the day for pious works for the servants of Allāh the *darbār* and all *kachahrīs* were closed so that people might devote themselves to Allāh on that day.

Section 6

During the early days of his regency in the year 1243 A H Nawwab Āzīm Jāh Bahadur arranged to repair the big *dīwān khāna* in Kalas-mahall on the occasion of the festivities of *bismillāh-khīwānī* of Ghulam Muhammad Ghawth Khan Bahadur Amīrūl Hind Nawwāb Wāljāh V the son of his beloved brother. The *dīwān khāna* was furnished with fabrics of *makhmal* and *bānāt*. *Qandils* of different colours and pattern and *kanwal* were fitted up in suitable places. A sunshade of red *bānāt* was erected in front of the *dīwān khāna*. A golden throne with a *ghāmīyāna* adorned with jewels was placed inside the *dīwān khāna*. The Nawwab-Regent arranged to distribute *khilāt* in different colours with embroidered work and with borders fitted with *muhra* of equal size to men of rank among relatives, nobles distinguished men and officers. He also honoured many persons of the Company gentlemen and ladies, young and old with gifts according to rank. *Tōra* of *shīrīnī* ranging from two to seven trays were distributed to *munshīs* and others.

The Nawwab Regent began the festive proceedings in *Shadī mahall*. He gathered all female relatives and there was gaiety and rejoicing in the *dī wān khāna* of the *bāgh* for three

anecdote of the Prophet. After his demise this custom continued and the name *ḥadīth*, which primarily denoted a narrative or a report, has come to mean, in the Islamic theological usage, the records of the sayings and doings of the Prophet, and is translated in English as Traditions.

or four days, the time passed away in feasting and singing. The Nawwāb, out of parental affection, decked the prince with robes adorned with embroidery and *jawāhīr*, then he started with him in state from Shādī-mahall at about 8 P M. There were many lamps; fireworks gave more spectacular effect, the whole procession resembling a *barāt*. In this manner the prince was led from Shādī-mahall to the big *dīwān-khāna* in Kalas-mahall where he was seated on the golden throne. Then the Nawwāb honoured the nobles and officers with titles, presented them with *jawāhīr*, and varicoloured *dushālā*. Then *utī* and *pāndān* were distributed. In this manner the festivities were observed day by day. On the day of the ceremony there was greater rejoicing. There was a very large gathering of people at the *majlis*, but the writer of this book did not have the luck to be present at the *majlis* for various reasons. Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī, my friend, read out on the occasion the benefactory *ghazals* in the Hindī language ¹

Section 7.

Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent, carried on the administration with such wisdom and prudence that he gave satisfaction to all. The pen has not the power to set forth in detail his experience and knowledge in administration.

He brought back to original state by rebuilding and repairing all the buildings within the limits of *Dārul-amāra* of Shādī-mahall.

“How beautiful is the finish of the building;

You cannot take away your eyes from it.”

In 1247 A H. the Nawwāb-Regent built a new building for his own residence in the compound of Shādī-mahall situated on the High road (in Triplicane). It is a marvellous edifice, its height and extensiveness would inspire people with

(1) For verses see Appendix K.

pleasant feelings Mīr Khurshīd Hāsan Mūsawī composed a few verses¹ in Persian, indicating the date of the construction of that palace, and submitted them to the Nawwāb-Regent through this humble servant.

Section 8

All praise be to Allāh Nawwab Azīm Jah Sīrājūl Umara Bahadur, the Regent invested with absolute power and authority to carry on administration during the minority of his dear brother's son Ghulam Muhammad Ghawth Khan Bahādur Nawwab Walajah V, added lustre to the government transmitted from one generation to another by his characteristic experience and knowledge in all matters.

He improved and furnished with adornments the offices of the government. He set up *kachahrīs* one quite separate from another in the big *bagh* of the *wālayāhī dārīl-amāra*. Of these

Dārūl-ʿadālat : *ʿAlīya* and *Kār* : *ṣadārat* were in charge of Muftī ʿUmdatul ʿUlama Badrud Dawla Bahādur

the *kachahrī Munfāḥ-i-ahkām* was entrusted to Mawlawī Ahmad Kaīm Khan

the *kachahrī Bakhshī-giri* was entrusted to Sharaful Mulk Bahadur the *bakhshī*,

the *kachahrī Khān sāmanī* was under the care of Amīr Nawāz Jang Bahādur the *mīr-sāmān*.

Dārughas were appointed to take care of the *julā-khāna* and such other *kār khānas* of the government. These men attended offices at stated hours and carried on their business judiciously and with good will.

There were also other *kachahrīs* in the *dārūl-amāra* of *Shadī mahall*. These offices began work from about 12 o'clock or 1 P.M. Of these the following *kachahrīs* *Khasāna*, *Diwānī*, and *Tanqīh* were under the care of Mumtāzu'l Umarā Amīrul

(1) For verses see Appendix L.

CH 3—REGENCY OF NAWWAB AZIM JAH BAHĀDUR

Mulk Bahādur, the *madārūl-muhām*; the *kachahrī Dārūl-inshā angrēzī* under Munshī Mahmūd Ālī Khān Bahādur, the *kachahrī Dārūl-inshā khāss fārsī* under Rāja Bhakunt Rāi Bahādur, the *mīr-munshī* of the Nawwāb. Umar Nawāz Khān was the *qalamdān-bardār* in that *kachahrī*. All these officers were attentive to duties entrusted to them. They dealt with statements of accounts and letters.

The Nawwāb-Regent used to leave his *mahall-sarāi* at about three o'clock in the afternoon, and shed light in the palace by his presence. Then he said the *mid-day prayer* and took his seat on the *masnad*. At that time the *mujrāiyān* halted at the *ādābgāh* and each made obeisance to the Nawwāb. Some of these left the *darbār* while some stayed. Those who stayed usually were Sharafu'l-Mulk Bahādur, Muftī Badru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Azīz Nawāz Khān Bahādur, A'zam Nawāz Khān, Qudratullāh Khān, Muhammad Fakhru'd-Dīn Khān, Hakīm Taqī Nawāz Khān Bahādur, Hakīm Hādhiq Yār Khān, Mun'im Nawāz Khān, besides five or six members of the royal family like Hājī Muhammad Šalābat Khān (now enjoying the title *Našīru'l-Mulk*). Sometimes Ghulām Muhammad Mazhar Ālī Khān (now enjoying the title *Husāmūl-Mulk Bahādur*) and others were also present at the *darbār*.

Those who were present at the *darbār* submitted their petitions. Multamis Khān, the *uz-begī* wrote out a brief summary on the back of each petition and submitted it for the perusal of the Regent. This humble person, the *nāzir* of the *Dārūl-inshā khāss fārsī*, was generally present at the *darbār* with the *munshīs* of that *kachahrī* bringing all papers. Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur, the *madārūl-muhām*, was also present at the *darbār* with one or two *munshīs* of the *Dīwānī* and *mutasaddīs* of the *Khazāna*, and submitted such of the petitions as required the direction of the Regent for disposal. He also presented to the Nawwāb-Regent the peti-

difficult to describe his affection. May Allāh, exalted be He keep him safe for many more years.

Every year Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādūr, the Regent, shed lustre on the poor houses of his humble companions on the occasion of some ceremony. Sometimes out of his kindness the Nawwāb-Regent paid visits to their houses even if there was no such occasion. He helped them with money to meet the expenses on occasions of ceremony.

Āzīzullāh Khān Bahādūr Ashraf Jang who had the privilege of being a companion of the Nawwāb-Regent, was present day and night and attended to all work in the palace.

Miṣbahullāh Khān Bahādūr was *dārogha* of *Tōshak khāna* from the early days. The Nawwāb-Regent out of his benevolent nature and in consideration of the long service of the *dārogha* conferred upon him the title *Multasim Jang* presented him with *dushāla* and *jawāhīr*, appointed him *mīr sāmān* of the *kār khāna* pertaining to the *jāgīr* of Haydarabad and sent him to that district.

Hafīzullāh Khān Bahādūr Hāfiẓ Yar Jang who could recite from memory the entire Quran was a person of rank and a companion of Āzīm Jāh Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālaajāh IV. He was also one of the companions of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādūr the Regent from his youth. He was honoured by the Nawwāb-Regent with *manṣab* and *marātib* and with presents of *jawāhīr*. Hafīzullāh Khān Bahādūr continued to be a constant companion of the Regent. Every year in the month of Rabī'ul awwal the Nawwāb-Regent visited the house of Hafīzullāh Khān Bahādūr in accordance with his request on the occasion of the *ziyarat* of *al-hār ʿ-ṣharīf*. Next day the Nawwāb-Regent shed lustre on Hafīz bagh opposite to Āzīm bagh after the *sun set prayer* with nobles, courtiers, and others, on the occasion of the birthday celebrations of the holy Prophet, the leader in both the worlds, as Āzīm Jāh Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālaajah IV was wont to do.

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Another important person was Ḥakīm Jamālu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ḥakīm Yār Jāng. He was an expert in his profession and a *dast-i-shifā*. He was in charge of the Nawwāb-Regent's *shifā-khāna*. The Regent honoured him with *mansab* and *marātib*, and presented him with *jawāhīr*. This *hakīm* was always with the Nawwāb-Regent.

Wajīhullāh Khān Bahādur, an old companion of Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, was engaged in the service suited to his rank, he also became the Regent's companion.

Section 9

The Nawwāb-Regent was so benevolent and kind that he endeavoured to assist every one in possession of receipts entitling him to receive monthly allowances or fixed pensions from the Company, whether he be a member of the royal family or an outsider. He also arranged with the Company about the transfer of such receipts in the name of the descendants of the pensionary immediately after his death.

If any one of the sons belonging to the royal family, or the family of nobles or of officers, was found able and intelligent, the Nawwāb-Regent appointed him to the post held by his father and conferred upon him the title and *mansab* enjoyed by his father. No one failed to get his due from this benevolent government. On the other hand every one found his mark of honour according to his rank and ability. May Allāh, exalted be He, keep this *darbār*, which offers such chances, safe for many years in all glory.

The Nawwāb-Regent also conferred titles upon the nobles and members of the government, presented them with *khulāt*, and *jawāhīr* according to rank on occasions of festivities like the celebration of the anniversary of coronation, birth day, and such other periodic festivities.

Section 10

In accordance with the custom¹ established during the days of the two Nawwabs, Aẓīmūd Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Walajāh III and Aẓam Jah Bahadur Nawwāb Wālahab IV, the Nawwāb-Regent celebrated the *urs* of the holy saints Budu Shahīd, and Pīr Pahlawān ṣāhib on the dates prescribed for the festivities, paying all expenses. He sent to the *dargāh* tents and other requisite things from every *kār khāna* and gave instructions in regard to the pitching of tents, etc. After everything was made ready he started to the *dargāh* with *mahallāt*. All the officers and other servants also went there. After saying *fātiha* he gave every one presents and *bhattā* according to rank. The Nawwāb-Regent recreated himself with his stay at the *dargāh* for a day or two and then returned home.

Section 11

During hot weather generally the Nawwāb-Regent went with his *mahallāt* on an excursion to the *bāghs* owned by the *sarkār*. Each *bāgh* was a large tract covered with trees and interspersed with small streams and water springs in a manner to excite the envy of *gulistān*. After a short stay for two or three days in such *bāghs* the Nawwāb-Regent returned to his palace.

After celebrating the *urs* of Aẓīmūd Dawla Bahadur Nawwāb Walajāh III on the 14th of Shawwal 1245 A.H. (April 1830 A.D.) the Nawwāb-Regent took a trip to Rōṣhan *bagh* situated on the bank of the river in Sayyidabad. An elegant bungalow covered with thatch was put up in that *bāgh*.

(1) The custom of celebrating the *urs* in memory of Budu Shahīd and Pīr Pahlawān ṣāhib was prevalent even in the days of Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wāliājāh II. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic* Part III pp. 141 143



Azīm Jāh Bahādur
the Nawwāb-Regent from Dec 1825

It was furnished with *farsh* and *qālīn* in all shades of colours. *Qandīls* of various patterns were hung in suitable places and tents were erected wherever necessary. The *mahallāt*, relatives and nobles went with the Nawwāb-Regent. They stayed there from the 15th of *Shawwāl* till the 7th of *Dhul-hajj*. Thousands of rupees were spent on that trip. They had a happy time, enjoying various entertainments. All the officers and the companions of the Regent including this humble servant, had the honour to be present in that *bāgh*. The Nawwāb-Regent and the Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā were giving without stint to everyone according to rank. Arrangements were made to serve food to everyone twice a day. It was choice kind of food, with a plentiful supply of different kinds of fruits. During that time this humble slave was afflicted with sorrow on account of the death of Kanīz-i-zahra, his first wife. She was the granddaughter of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and the mother of Iftīkhārū'l-Mulk Nasību'd-Dawla Muḥammadi Miyān. May Allāh protect others from such misfortune. This humble servant was in a state of deep depression on account of this grievous loss. May Allāh, exalted be He, keep the Nawwāb-Regent safe in all prosperity, for he is benevolent and kind; his compassion is such that it comforts sorrow-stricken people. He invited this humble servant, who had a stricken heart, to come to Rōshan-bāgh and made him indulge in recreation with a view to relieve him of his distress.

I struck upon an idea when many of my sisters-in-law joined to the mercy of Allāh and my brothers' houses became defaced, and deranged, the kindness and benevolence of Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā and the Nawwāb-Regent enabled my brothers to marry again and bring back the houses to their original brightness and briskness. So it struck me that my ruined house also might be restored to its original state through the favours of their highnesses. One day I gave out my idea in a way to Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā. Then I was looking for a

favourable time to speak to the Nawwāb-Regent and gain my purpose.

One day when I found the Nawwāb Regent in a good temper I submitted "I am suffering from hardship on account of the death of the mother of Iftikhārūl Mulk Naṣibu'd Dawla Bahādur I am not at all inclined to marry again yet the severe suffering and want of the comforts of life compel me to take a wife. I have need of the kindness of your highness and that of Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhibā. During the reign of Muḥammad Alī Bahādur Nawwāh Wālājah I my grandfather, I was first married in 1206 A.H (1791 A D) to the daughter of Nawwāb Malikū'n nisā Begam ṣāhibā, my own aunt. A large sum of money was spent on that occasion, and all the ceremonials were observed. Now I could not get a bride having the same grade of dignity as that of my late Bēgam. Hence I wish with the help of Allāh to take a second wife from a family celebrated for their lineage the descendants of the daughter of the Prophet.

Muhammad Alī Bahādur Nawwāh Wālājah I and Nawwāh Shukōhūl Mulk Naṣiru'd Dawla Bahādur, my two grandfathers and A'zam Jah Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājah IV these three took their wives for the first time, from among the descendants of Fāṭima. Again, your highness, our compassionate and benevolent ruler enjoying the unmerited favour of Allah first took for your consort the younger sister of the queen consort of A'zam Jah Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājah IV, a *sayyida*. Amīru'd Dawla Abdu'l Qadir Khan Bahādur my uncle and Ra'isu'l Umara Bahādur Sirāju'l Mulk my brother, also married each a *sayyida*. Thus some of the members of the Wālājāhī family had taken wives outside our clan and these might be taken as examples. Considering these facts I humbly request that if your highness and Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhibā could permit me, I wish to take a second wife from outside our clan

CH 3.—MARRIAGE OF MUHAMMAD KARIM

Praise be to Allāh! Immediately after hearing the representations of this humble person, the Nawwāb-Regent replied: "Yes. I shall be very glad indeed to see you in full prosperity."

This suppliant paid his obeisance to the Nawwāb-Regent expressing his thanks to him for the favourable reply. Since that day I endeavoured to find a suitable bride. As a result of my inquiry it came to be known that there was the eldest granddaughter of Sayyid Muhammad sāhib of Bijapur, one of the ancient *mashāyikh*, a *sayyid*, illustrious by birth and a nobleman. She was residing at Mahammadpūr (Arcot). Her name was 'Ābida Bēgam known as 'Umda Bēgam. She traced her genealogy back to Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur the senior.

Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur was an illustrious person by birth and rank, an *amīn* of high rank and an *Āṣafīyya mansabdār*. He was a minister of Muhammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, his *dīwān* and *nā'ib* of the *sūba* of Dārū'n-nūr Muḥammadpūr (Arcot).

I considered that an alliance with 'Ābida Bēgam would be good for me, and arranged for it through Mīr Munawwar Ḥusayn, and Mīr 'Abbās Ḥusayn, the sons of Mīr 'Alī Yār Khān, after great trouble. Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī, the grandson of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, and also his heir, happened to be my old companion. I sent him on the 29th of Dhul-qa'da, 1245 A.H. to bring the bride and her relatives from Muḥammadpūr. He returned to Madras in twenty days with the bride and others.

I made arrangements for the *fātiha* on the day of the first anniversary of the death of my late Bēgam. As I had not enough funds to celebrate the marriage in a manner suited to my rank, I left for Karampāk (Kodambakkam) on the 14th of Dhul-hajj, 1245 A.H. (1829 A.D.) sending information about it to Nawwāb Bēgam sāhiba and the Nawwāb-Regent. At Karampāk I took up my residence in the building of Ja'farjī Bohra. This building

was, later on purchased by Khan Ālam Khān Bahadur With the help of Alīlāh the marriage festivities were begun in accordance with the customs prevalent in the Deccan, like *barī bardī jal oā* and such other prominent items suited for the joyous occasion The festivities continued for five or six days On the 19th of Dhul hajj, the bride was conducted in a fitting manner from Karampak to Ahmadī baghī, my own residence. This Ahmadī bāghī was known as the Bāghī kamtan After I bought it I settled it, of my own free will, on my late wife in consideration of *mahr* The bride was received in this house and arrangements for other marriage ceremonies were made through my daughter in law

Next day which happened to be the anniversary of my birth-day, the Nawwab-Regent, out of his usual kindness shed lustre on my house by his presence as he was wont to do every year He also bestowed honour on the zenana. He conferred dignity upon the new Begam by presenting her with his own hand the seal inscribed with the words *Najmūn nūsā Bēgam* He also honoured her with the presents of *khulāt* with embroidered work and a *dushālā* of scarlet colour The Nawwab Begam *ṣāhibā*, who always bestowed upon us a shower of gifts, sent as presents to the bride a pearl *nāih* and a *lachchīlā* of high value through *Baṣī-bībī* the wife by *niskāh* of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwah Walajāh I The benevolent Nawwāb *ṣāhib* provided this humble servant with the money necessary for marriage expenses

Some months later the kind Nawwab Begam *ṣāhibā* invited the Begam of this humble servant to come to her palace on the occasion of the festivities of the birth-day of the exalted Nawwab in the year 1246 A.H (1830 A.D)

Nawwab Bēgam *ṣāhibā* honoured the bride on the occasion of *rānumā'ī* with the presents of a tray full of coins *pāndān 'īṣṭ-dān*, *gulāb pāghī*, and a *changār* and thus elevated her in the

eyes of her equals. Then she spoke kindly in praise of the bride addressing jovially those present at the *majlis*:

“As the marriage of this lady was celebrated in conformity with the ceremonials observed generally in the Deccan, the ceremony of *thāl*, usually a custom prevalent in Gopamaw, was not observed. The custom in Gopamaw is as follows. If the *sīhrā* is fastened to the bride in any of the house of her relatives, that relative would perform the ceremony of *thāl*. As this marriage was not celebrated in accordance with the ceremonials prevalent in Gopamaw, the *thāl* ceremony also was not observed. A tray full of coins alone was given at the *rūnumā'i* besides flowers and other things.”

Some years ago, my Bēgam had purchased as her personal property a house contiguous to Ahmādī-bāgh, and named it as *Khurshīd mahall*. Now we took up our residence there after sending information about it to the Nawwāb-Regent and Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā. Mīr *Khurshīd* Ḥasan Mūsawī has recorded this event in verses.¹

The Nawwāb-Regent always bestows upon us a shower of gifts. It is very difficult to describe his generosity.

(1) For verses see Appendix M.

PART IV

FOURTH CHAPTER.

An account of a series of princes the descendants of the king Tīmūr, who come from Delhi to Madras from the days of Muḥammad Aḥ Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, right up to the time of Aḡīn Jah Bahādur the Nawwāb Regent the genealogical tables of the families of Anwar Wālājāh and Khayrū'd Dīn Khān, and their children the Khātima being on account of the author of this book

PRINCE MĪRZĀ HUMĀYON BAKHT BAHĀDUR

MĪRZA Humāyun Bakht Bahadur, a prince illustrious by rank, arrived at Madras with *maḥallāt* and his retinue in the year 12—A H¹ during the reign of Muḥammad Aḥ Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

One day Nawwab Wālājāh I arranged to decorate his *darbār* in Kalas-maḥall in a good style worthy of a ruler and invited the illustrious prince MĪRZĀ Humāyūn Bakht Bahadur in a manner suited to his *manṣab* and *marātib* and had an interview with him. Then he sent him back to his residence in Mylapore along with Nawwāb 'Umdatul Umara Bahadur Amīrū'd Dawla Bahadur Iftikhārū'd Dawla Bahādur and officers like Mubārīz Jang Bahādur and Salār Jang Bahādur for courtesy's sake. The noble prince MĪRZĀ was residing in

(1) The writer of this chronicle does not give the dates fully

Mylapore at the building¹ put up by Muhammad Kamāl,² who was brought up in the family of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahīd. This building was owned by the *sarkār* at that time. It was furnished with *farsh*, *shāmīyāna*, and *masnad* and fitted with *qandīls*. Next day Nawwāb Wālājāh I paid a return visit and had the pleasure of meeting the prince Mīrzā

Nawwāb Wālājāh I addressed joyfully Mubārīz Jang Bahādur and others present as follows:

“ Praise be to Allāh! I give thanks to Allāh the Creator, for, the mean house of this humble and low servant of Hazrat Māhbūb Subhānī, and the zealously loyal servant of the Emperor Muhammad Mu'izzu'd-Dīn 'Alī Gawhar Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Pādshāh Ghāzī, is lighted up by the presence of the illustrious prince, a descendant of king Tīmūr. His visit has raised the status of the government of this unworthy atom ”

As long as he lived Nawwāb Wālājāh I continued to inquire about the prince Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur.

During the lifetime of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam maintained in secrecy friendly correspondence with Fayẓu'n-nisā Bēgam sāhibā, the noble Bēgam of the prince Mīrzā. When 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II ascended the throne after his father, Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam had the proud privilege of receiving Fayzu'n-nisā Begam sāhibā at her own *mahall* with great honour suited to her rank. Thus Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam kept warm the bond of union, and promoted the friendship to a greater degree

(1) This may be identified with the building now known as *Lesth castle* in San Thome, Mylapore.

(2) For an account of Muḥammad Kamāl See *Sources of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic* Part II, pp 175-177

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV—Pt IV PRINCE MIRZĀ ALI BAKHT BAHĀDUR AND MIRZĀ MUHAMMAD AMINU D DĪN SAIIB

During the reign of 'Umdatul' Umara Bahādur Amīrul' Hind Nawwāb Wālājah II, Mirzā Ali Bakht Bahādur another illustrious prince, visited Madras in 1211 A.H. (1796 A.D.) He was the most unique prince, deeply read and an erudite scholar¹

Two or three days after his arrival 'Umdatul' Umara Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājah II arranged to decorate the *diwān khāna* of Kalas-mahall and invited the prince Mirzā Ali Bakht Bahādur in a manner suited to his rank and had an interview with him. He then sent him to 'Ināyat bāgh well known as the bungalow of Brajdās Mudali along with Tajul' Umara Bahādur, Ra'isu'l Umarā Bahādur Amīrul' Dawla Bahādur Iftikhārul' Dawla Bahādur Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Mir Asadullāh Khan Bahādur. Next day the Nawwab went with his nephews, and the nobles and paid a return visit, and became ennobled by meeting him. Nawwab Wālājah II provided for all his expenses.

One day Nawwab Wālājah II in the course of a talk with the prince inquired of him about his family and why they were left at home and not invited to Madras. The Prince replied that he could not make provision for their journey. Then Nawwāb ṣāhib obtained information from the prince about the number of people and the sum required for the journey and sent a *hundī* for that amount to Lucknow.

After some time Mirzā Muhammad Amīn'u'd Dīn ṣāhib known as Mirza Amānī ṣāhib, the younger brother of the prince, reached Madras with the family of his elder brother in the year 1213 A.H. (1798 A.D.) The day after his arrival, Mirzā Ali Bakht Bahādur after sending information to the

(1) He is the author of many books. The chief of these are *Wāqīāt i Afṣarī*, and *Diwān-i Afṣarī*, which have been published by the University of Madras 1937 and 1938.

Nawwāb, went with Mīrzā Amānī sāhib, his brother, and presented him to Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

After the interview, Nawwāb Wālājāh II made provision for the expenses of Mīrzā Amānī sāhib and the Bēgam of Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur. The Nawwāb frequently inquired about them, and he kept on friendly relationship with them throughout his life.

Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur, and his Bēgam carried on correspondence with the Government of Nawwāb Wālājāh II on all matters in which they had interest through the mediation of Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam. Sultānu'n-nisā invited the Bēgam of Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur and her two daughters with great respect and introduced them to her own two sisters. They were all very happy to meet each other. Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam kept on the friendship with the royal guests.

PRINCE MĪRZĀ TĀJU'D-DĪN BAHĀDUR.

Prince Mīrzā Tāju'd-Dīn Bahādur reached Madras in 12—A H., with his *mahallāt* and sons during the last days of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur when he was in his death-bed. The prince took up his residence in the *bāgh* of Dādē-Shāh sāhib. As Nawwāb sāhib was seriously ill, the prince could not meet him. When Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Amīru'l-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh III ascended the throne, Mīrzā Tāju'd-Dīn Bahādur had an interview with the new Nawwāb in the big *dirwān-khāna* of Kalas-mahall.

PRINCE MĪRZĀ ĪZID BAKHSH BAHĀDUR.

During the reign of Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur got two years leave in 12—A.H., from the Governor of Madras, through the mediation

of Nawwāb Wāljāh III, to go to Lucknow and visit prince Mīrzā Jalālud Dīn his own younger brother Prince Mīrzā Ali Bakht Bahādur went alone leaving his family at Madras. He reached Calcutta by sea. There he learnt that Mīrzā Jalālud Dīn Bahādur had gone to Murshidābād with his younger son, Mīrzā Izid Bakhsh Bahadur. Then Mīrzā Ali Bakht Bahādur took leave of the Governor of Calcutta and went to Murshidābād where he met his brother. A few days after, Mīrzā Jalālud Dīn Bahādur, who was suffering from cancer, passed away by the decree of Allah. *Verily we are for Allah and to Allah we return*. Mīrzā Ali Bakht Bahadur out of his kindness and parental affection stayed at Murshidābād with Mīrzā Izid Bakhsh Bahadur his brother's son, till the 40th day ceremony for his departed brother. After the *fātiḥa* on the 40th day he boarded the ship (at Calcutta?) with his brother's son and returned safe to Madras.

Next day after his arrival, Mīrzā Ali Bakht Bahadur sent information to Āzīmud Dawla Bahādur Amīrul Hind Nawwāb Wāljāh III that he might be permitted to pay a visit to the Nawwāb with his brother's son. The Nawwāb sent the reply that it would give him great pleasure to meet them. One day the Nawwāb sent Hafiz Ahmad Khan Bahadur to invite the princes to his *darbār* and felt very glad when he met them. The Nawwāb out of his benevolence, arranged with the Company for the payment of a monthly allowance of rupees four hundred to Mīrzā Izid Bakhsh Bahadur. At all times the Nawwāb was very kind and generous to these princes. The devout Nawwāb Begam ṣāhiba, invited the *mahallāt* of Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahadur and of Mīrzā Ali Bakht Bahādur very respectfully to her own palace and met them with joy and was very kind to everyone.

PRINCE MĪRZĀ ILĀHĪ BAKHSH BAHĀDUR.

During the reign of A‘zam Jāh Fakhru‘l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, Mīrzā Īzīd Bakhsh Bahādur joined to the mercy of Allāh. At that time Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur, the elder brother of the deceased prince, was at Lucknow. He was a prince of exalted rank, a most unique person, distinguished for his urbanity and virtue and renowned for his polished manners. When he learnt about the demise of his brother, he reached Madras, and had the honour of meeting A‘zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. The Nawwāb endeavoured to arrange with the Governor for the transfer of the allowance paid to the deceased prince Īzīd Bakhsh Bahādur in the name of prince Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur who had come from Lucknow. The allowance which was sanctioned by the Company brought relief to the prince, who was very thankful to the Nawwāb.

Some years later during the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, prince Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur got leave for five years from the Governor of Madras, through the mediation of the Nawwāb-Regent, and went to Lucknow in order that he might pay his obeisance to his noble mother who was residing there. The prince reached Lucknow travelling by sea and land. He was very glad to meet his mother, relatives and friends. As he was a devoted friend of the Nawwāb-Regent he kept up his promise and returned to Madras in the year 12—A.H. He took up his residence at the building in Mylapore, and sent information about his arrival to the Nawwāb-Regent. The following day the Nawwāb-Regent sent Sharafu‘l-Mulk Bahādur, the *bakhshī*, to invite the prince and received him in Shādī-mahall with great honours as usual. Next day the Nawwāb-Regent returned the visit, and thus conferred dignity upon him. In a short while, the Nawwāb-Regent arranged

with the Company for the payment of the allowance, and also the balance due to the prince Mirza Ilahī Bakhsh Bahādur

Some days later, the Nawwab-Regent arranged to furnish a stately building owned by the *sarkār* which was contiguous to the big garden on the sea coast and invited Mirzā Ilahī Bakhsh Bahādur to reside comfortably in that building. Praise be to Allah. This prince was so cultured and imbued with delicacy of taste and polished manners that all those who knew him frequently mentioned him with praise. The brotherly affection shown by this exalted prince to me, unworthy atom, was so great that it is beyond description

An account of the pedigree of the Wālājāhī dynasty as detailed in Tadhkirat-ul-Ansāb, Nasab-nāma-ı-Anwarī, Tūzak-ı-Wālājāhī and other books

Muhammad Munawwar, the descendant of Hazrat ʿUmar Fārūq in the twenty-third generation, is the father of two sons, Hājī Muhammad Anwar and Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī who perpetuated their families by the names of *Anwarīyya* and *Wālīyya*.

ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent, is in the lineal succession of six descents from Muhammad Munawwar, through his son Hājī Muhammad Anwar.

Nasību'd-Dawla Bahādur Iftikhāru'l-Mulk is in the lineal succession of seven descents from Muhammad Munawwar, through his other son Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī.

Thus ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur of the *Anwarīyya* line is the descendant of Hazrat ʿUmar Fārūq in the twenty-ninth generation; Nasību'd-Dawla Bahādur of the *Wālīyya* line is the descendant of Hazrat ʿUmar Fārūq in the thirtieth generation.

The genealogical tables of these lines of descent are given in the following pages.

2. Shaykh Abdullah
3. Shaykh Nasirud Din
4. Shaykh Ibrahim
5. Shaykh Ishaq
6. Shaykh Abul Fatah Wa'iz-i Kabir
7. Abdullah Wa'iz-i Saghir
8. Shaykh Mas'ud
9. Muhammad Subhan
10. Shaykh Fakhrud Din Mahmud¹
11. Sulaim Shihabud Din Ahmad²
12. Shaykh Yusuf
13. Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad
14. Qazi Shaykh Shu'ayb
15. Qazi Fakhrud Din
16. Shaykh Ali
17. Shaykh Alauddin
18. Qazi Shaykh Ibrahim
19. Shaykh Abdullah³
20. Shaykh Makhdum Abdul-Qadir Qannawji
21. Shaykh Makhdum Abdul Hay⁴
22. Shaykh Nizmulah

1. He was well known by the title, *Sulṭan Salim*.

2. He was well known by the title, *Sulṭan Salim*.

25 Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Sirājūd-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr
Shahāmat Jang
(1744—49 A D.)

26 Muhammad 'Alī Khān Bahādūr
Amīrūl-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh I
(1749—95 A D.)

Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr
Nawwāb Wālājāh II
(1795—1801 A D.)

Tājirul-Umarā Bahādūr
(d 1801 A D.)

27. Amīrūl-Umarā
Bahādūr²

28. 'Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādūr
Nawwāb Wālājāh III
(1801—19 A D.)

A'zam Jāh Bahādūr
Nawwāb Wālājāh IV
(1819—25 A D.)

Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth
Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb
Wālājāh V³
(1825—55 A D.)

29. 'Azīm Jāh
Sirājūl-Umarā
Bahādūr
Nawwāb-Regent.
(1825—43 A D.)
and
Amīr-i-Arcot
(1870—74 A D.)

25 Shaykh Muhammad Khayrullāh
26 'Abdul-Hakīm Khān Bahādūr

27. Muhammad Khayrūd Dīn Khān¹
Bahādūr Nāẓim Jang the Senior

28 Hāfiz Muhammad Nāẓir Khān
Iftikhārūd-Dawla Šamšām Jang Bahādūr

29 Ghulām Al-i-Muhammad
Khurshīdūl-Mulk Muhammad
Nāẓir Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawla
Bahādūr

30. Naẓībūd-Dawla Bahādūr
Iftikhārūd-Mulk

Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk
Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādūr
Nuṣrat Jang

Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla
Dilēr Jang Bahādūr

Muhammad Nī'mullāh Khān
Sharaful-Umarā
Bahādūr

Sharaful-Umarā Anwārūd-Dawla
Bahādūr.

1. He was the husband of the younger sister of Muhammad 'Alī Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh I
2. Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādūr, the second son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, predeceased his father
3. Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādūr, son of Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, succeeded his father as Wālājāh V. As he was a minor Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh, Bahādūr his uncle, acted as Regent.

*A brief account of the ancestors of Ḥaḡī Muḥammad
Anwar and Shaykh Abdu'l Walī sons of Shaykh
Muḥammad Munawwar*

The author of the *Tāṭār Khānī* writes that Shaykh Abdullah son of 'Umar Fāruq i A'zam had two wives by *nikāḥ*. One was Bakht Banū, the daughter of Yazdajird, son of Noshirwan. She had a son by name Salīm. He was one of the *faqīhs* at Madīna. He was the fore-father of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ibn Adham.

Fāṭima the other wife of Shaykh Abdullah, was the daughter of Imām Husayn. She had a son by name Shaykh Naṣīru'd Dīn. He is reported to be one of the *faqīhs* of his times. If property is bequeathed by will by any one to Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, the children of Naṣīru'd Dīn also are entitled to a share in it for he is in the lineage of Fāṭima, and the term son includes both daughter and son.

When Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the two sons of Abdullah son of Hasan Muḥiannā, son of Imām Hasan rose in rebellion against Harūn the Abbasid Caliph, (786-809 A.D.) Shaykh Ibrāhīm son of 'Umar joined them. It is said that Imām Shafī also took part in that war on the side of the rebels. Muhammad and Ibrāhīm were captured and put to death.

Shaykh Ibrāhīm son of Shaykh Naṣīru'd Dīn found himself free after the war reached Bukhāra with his family and children and settled down there. His descendants lived respectably in Bukhara for four generations. They spent the time in teaching Law and Traditions and leading the people in the right path.

After him Shaykh Sulaymān son of Mas'ud son of Abdullah Wā iḡ Aṣghar son of Abū'l Fataḥ Wā iḡ Akbar son of Ishāq son of Ibrāhīm son of Naṣīru'd Dīn, gathered a large

army, and marched to Kābul designing a *jihād*. He made the country clear of disbelief and propagated the faith of Islām. He established his banner in Kābul in 400 A H, (1009 A D) and was hailed as Sultān Sulaymān

His son Sultān Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad Farrukh Shāh 'Ādil, and his grandson Fakhru'd-Dīn Ahmad Nasīmān Shāh Pādshāh were sultāns of Kābul

These facts are gathered from *Tadhkiratū's-siyar* written by Shaykh Abul-Barakāt Baghdādī. When circumstances changed and bad times set in, Kābul was taken by the sultāns of Ghaznā, and the descendants of Farrukh Shāh 'Ādil were reduced to humble position. Then Chengēz Khān marched forth with his forces devastating the territories of Islām. He attacked Ghaznā and Kābul, ravaged these places, and slaughtered many princes. One of these princes who suffered martyrdom was Muhammad Ahmad, son of Yūsuf, son of Farrukh Shāh 'Ādil

Shu'ayb, son of Muhammad Ahmad, reached Lahore with his family and children, and thence the *qasba* Qasūr. The *qāzī* of the place learnt about the arrival of that person, and received him. He was very kind to him. He also wrote to the king of Delhi about the unhappy state of his guest. After some time the king sent a reply to the *qāzī*, appointing Shu'ayb as the *qāzī* of the *qasba* of Kahwāl, near Multan. Shu'ayb went to Kahwāl as *qāzī* and settled down there. Then Sulaymān, his eldest son, succeeded his father as *qāzī*.

It is related in *Ma'ārijul-wilāyat* and *Siyarul-Aqtāb* which give an account of the biography of Hazrat Shakar Ganj, that *qāzī* Sulaymān is the father of Qutb-i-Ālam Hazrat Faridu'd-Dīn Shakar Ganj.

It is also learnt from the *Nasab-nāma-i-shāhī* that Hazrat Qutb-i-Ālam Nasīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh Dehlawī and Shaykh Ahmad Mujaddid al-f-i-thānī are the descendants of Farrukh Shāh 'Ādil

Fakhrū'd Dīn became the *qāzī* after his brother Qaṣī Sulaymān. The descendants of Fakhrū'd Dīn stayed at Kahwāl for four generations. Then they went to Qannawj during the days of Lodhī sultāns of Afghān nationality and settled down there. In due course, the descendants of Fakhrū'd Dīn were appointed to the post of *Ṣadrū's ṣudūr*. One of these, by name Ibrāhīm was appointed *qāzī* of Qannawj by the government of Humāyun Pādshāh. Another one Abdullāh was appointed *qāzī* of the *qaṣba* of Badhāwān. He became renowned as *qāzī-i-lār*. He stayed there for some time.

Shaykh Makhdum Abdū'l-Qadīr, one of the descendants of Fakhrū'd Dīn, reached the *qaṣba* of Gopamaw at a distance of two *manzils* from Qannawj in order that he might prosecute his studies. After he completed his studies he took a wife in one of the noble families of that place. During the reign of Akbar Padshah he settled down at Gopamaw. With the help of Allāh, he, together with Shaykh Makhdum Abdū'l Hayy his son, became the disciple of his holiness Nizāmū'd Dīn of Amethī, one of the well known saints in the reign of Akbar. He lived an humble life and never approached the door of any one. After his death Makhdum Abdū'l Hayy, his son, served the *Pīr murshīd* leading a stringently moral and severely simple life. He attained great eminence. He donned the *khlāt* : *khlāfat* : *chishtīyya* put on the crown of *khlāfat* and became famous by the title *Shaykhū'l-Mashāyikh Ālim i-samānī*. Then Shaykh Nī mullah his eldest son succeeded the father and kept up the *faqīr's ṭarīqa*. After him Shaykh Muhammad Munawwar relinquished the ways of a *shaykh* and a *faqīr*, and became a devotee placing his reliance upon Allāh.

Then Muḥammad Anwar and Shaykh Abdū'l Walī, the two sons of Muḥammad Munawwar, made their way to the court of Awrangzeb Ālamgīr Padshah. The Padshāh conferred upon Muḥammad Anwar the title *Hājī Muqaddas* and appointed him to be in charge of *Tasbīh-khāna*. Shaykh

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF MUHAMMAD ANWAR

Abdu'l-Wālī was honoured with the title *Ālī-Rutbat*. Thus they gradually rose in official rank.

The family began to prosper from the time of Hājī Anwar's son Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. He became a martyr on the 16th of Sha'bān, 1162 A.H., (July 1749 A.D.) when he was 77 years of age. His son, Amīru'l-Hind 'Umdatul-Mulk Sirāju'd-Dawla Muhammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang Nawwāb Wālājāh I, became the *sūbadār* of the Carnatic. During his reign he had great regard for all his relatives, and supported their families at Gopamaw. Some, in accordance with the desire of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, came down to Madras from Gopamaw. Some came to Madras of their own accord. Nawwāb Wālājāh I arranged for the marriage of his sons and daughters among his own relatives and made them feel happy under his protection. The successors of Nawwāb Wālājāh I also followed this practice

Children of Shaykh Muhammad Munawwar.

Shaykh Muhammad Munawwar married Dilārī Bibī ṣāhibā, daughter of Qāzī Muhammad Sa'īd, a *sayyid* from Kirmān. Muhammad Munawwar had two sons one was Muhammad Anwar, styled *Hājī Muqaddas*. He was the grandfather of Wālājāh I. The other son 'Abdu'l-Wālī, styled as *Ālī-Rutbat*, was the grandfather of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān. Besides the two sons, Muhammad Munawwar had a daughter who died before marriage.

Children of Muhammad Anwar Hājī Muqaddas, son of Shaykh Muhammad Munawwar

Muhammad Anwar Hājī Muqaddas married the daughter of Qāzī Begī, son of Qāzī Muhammad Sa'īd. A son and two daughters were born. The son was later on styled *Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn* Khān Bahādur. He had a distinguished career, after the death of his father, in the governments of Nawwāb

Āṣaf Jāh and Nawwāb Naṣīr Jang An account of his career is given in *Anwar Nāma*

Bībī Maryam ṣāhibā, one of the daughters, was married to Muḥammad Āṣaf, grandson of Shaykh Nī mullāh Bībī Faṭīma ṣāhibā, the other daughter was married to Shaykh Muḥammad Hayat, grandson of Shaykh Abdu'l-Qādir

Wives of Nawwāb Anwaru'd Dīn Khān Bahādur

Nawwāb Anwaru'd Dīn Khān Bahādur took three wives

The first was Bībī ṣāhibā, daughter of Shaykh Abdu'l Wālī and grand-daughter of Shaykh Abdu'l Qādir She belonged to a noble family of Gopamaw and a close relative to Nawwāb Anwaru'd Dīn Khān Bahādur

The second was Bībī Faḥrū'n nīsa Begam ṣāhibā. Her mother was a *sayyida* She belonged to a noble family in Haydarabad

The details about the third wife are not given to avoid a lengthy account.

Children of Nawwāb Anwaru'd Dīn Khān Bahādur by Bībī ṣāhibā the first wife

Two sons and four daughters were born by Bībī ṣāhibā ¹

The sons are Badru'l Islam Khān Bahādur Afrasiyab Jang and Nawwāb Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khan Bahādur Shahamat Jang ²

Of the four daughters the first was married to Muḥsinu'd Dīn Khan grandson of Shaykh Madan

The second daughter was married to Abdu'l Wājīd Khān son of Muḥammad Murad

The third daughter was married to Shaykh Abdu'l Hayy Ghulām Ashraf Khān was their son

(1) See also *Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic* Part I p 109

(2) Nawwāb Anwaru'd Dīn Khān Bahādur appointed Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur as the *ṣabadār* of Trichunopoly For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 127 131

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF NAWWĀB ANWARU'D-DĪN KHĀN

The fourth daughter was married to Muhammad Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur the senior, son of Shaykh Abdu'l-Hakīm Khān Shahīd.

The details about their descendants can be learnt from *Tadhkirat-ul-Ansāb* and other books.

The details about the wives of Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur and Nawwāb Muhammad Mahfūz Khān Bahādur and the children born to them are given in *Khulāṣat-ul-Ansāb*.

*Children of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur by
Fakhrun-nisā Bēgam sāhibā, the second wife*

Two sons and two daughters were born by Fakhrun-nisā Bēgam

The first son was Ghulām Awliyā, known as Muhammad Alī and was styled *Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Umdatul-Mulk*. After the demise of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur his father, Muhammad Alī Khān Bahādur established his authority as *sūbadār* over the Carnatic. The Emperor of Delhi recognised him as the ruler of the Carnatic and conferred upon him the title *Amīr-ul-Hind Wālājāh*.

The second son was Nawwāb Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Shukōhu'l-Mulk Nasīru'd-Dawla Nuṣrat Jang Bahādur ¹

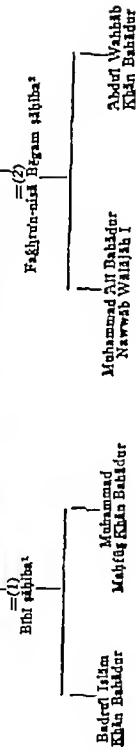
Amīra Bēgam, the first daughter, was married to Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān, son of Shaykh Abdu'l-Wāsi'

The second daughter was Kamu Bēgam known as Hazrat Bēgam and styled *Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam*. She was also popularly known as Chōtī Bēgam. Khayru'd-Dīn Khān took her as wife after the death of his first Bēgam. Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam is the grandmother of the author of this book. The details about her children are given in this book.

(1) Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur was the *tatalluqdar* of Nellore. See *Ibid*, p. 127.

Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur had also a son by name Muhammad Najibullāh Khān Bahādur. He was entrusted with the administration of the taluk of South Arcot by his father. *Ibid*, Part I, p. 109 and p. 127.

ANWARU D DIN KHAN BAHADUR



(1) Bibi Şahiba had four daughters.

(2) Fağhrun-nisâ Bëgam Şahiba had two daughters. Karimün-nisâ Bëgam, one of the two daughters, was married to Khayrud Din Khan.

CH 4—CHILDREN OF NAWWAB WALAJĀH I

Children of Muhammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

Muhammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I was married to Khadīja, daughter of Muhammad Ahsanū'd-Dīn Khān ṣāhib Shāhīd, and grand-daughter of Sayyida Bēgam Rizwī al-Mashhadī. Khadīja was also the sister's daughter of Sayyid Ālī Khān ṣāhib, the senior. She was styled *Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhibā*, and popularly known as Bēgam-Jān Maḥall-khāss. She led a happy life. When she was thirty-nine years old, she suffered from fever and dysentery. Just then festivities of the marriage of her younger daughter were in progress. The Nawwāb Bēgam departed this life on the morning of Tuesday, the 15th of Jumādū'l-Awwal, 1181 A H, (1767 A D.) before the completion of the *rasm-i-jalwa* for her daughter.

Five sons and five daughters were born by Khadīja Bēgam:

The first son Abdu'l-Walī, known as Ghulām Husayn was styled *Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Mu'īnu'l-Mulk Asadu'd-Dawla Ghulām Husayn Khān Bahādur Dhu'l-Faqār Jang*. He was the heir-apparent. He was married to Dilārī Bēgam sāhibā who was known as Khāss-mahall.

Dilārī Bēgam was the daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Nasīru'd-Dawla Bahādur by his wife Lār Bēgam sāhibā. She was a *sayyida*, the daughter of Mir Ādil Khān ṣāhib.

Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, had children by Dilārī Bēgam sāhibā. He departed this life when he was fifty-four years old.

The second son was Hāfiz Muhammad Munawwar known as Munnu Miyān. He was styled *Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Madāru'l-Mulk Rōshanu'd-Dawla Muḥammad Munawwar Khān Bahādur Bahādur Jang*. He was the Rustam of his day. He was appointed *dīwān* by Muḥammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, his father. He was married to Azīmu'n-nisā Bēgam sāhibā the younger sister of Dilārī Bēgam sāhibā, and had children. He passed away during the lifetime of his father when he (Amīru'l-Umarā) was forty years old.

The third son, Muhammad Anwar, known as Hājī Miyān was styled *Nawwāb Sayfu'l Mulk Anwarūd Dawla Muḥammad An var Khān Bahādur Husām Jang* During the early part of of his reign Muhammad Ali Khān Bahadur Nawwāb Walājāh I, appointed his third son as *Mir kachahrī* Muhammad Anwar held that post for some days

Muhammad Anwar Nawwāb Sayfu'l Mulk Bahādūr was married to Badrū'n nīsā Begam daughter of Nawwāb Shukōlurī Mulk Naṣīrud Dawla Bahadur by his wife Allāh Rakkhī Begam and had children. Muhammad Anwar Nawwāb Sayfu'l Mulk Bahadur passed away when he was fifty four years old on the 15th of Dhū'l-hajj, 1218 A.H. (1803 A D), during the reign of Aḡimud Dawla Bahādūr Nawwāb Walājāh III

The fourth son Ghulam Hasan, known as Ṭippu Bādshāh was styled *Nawwāb Husāmū'l mulk I ṭimādūd Dawla Muḥammad Abdullāh Khān Bahādur Hīzbar Jang* During the time of his father he was appointed *hākīm* of Nattharnagar He was *ṣībādār* of Muḥammādpūr (Arcot) during the reign of Umdatul Umarā Bahadur Nawwāb Wālājāh II

Habībū'n nīsā Bēgam the daughter of Hamīd Ali Khān, who belonged to one of the noble families of Gopamaw was given in marriage to Ghulam Hasan Nawwāb Husāmū'l mulk, and children were born to her He passed away when he was seventy four years old, on the afternoon of the 8th of Sha bān, 1244 A. H (1828 A D) during the regency of Nawwāb Aḡim Jah Sirajul Umara Bahādūr

The fifth son Abdu'l-Quddūs known as Lal Bādshāh, was styled *Nawwāb Naṣīrū'l Mulk Intiḡāmūd Dawla Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur Ghazanfar Jang* He was the *taṭlūqdār* of Madura during the reigns of his father and brother He was married to Khayrū'n-nīsā Bēgam, younger sister of Habībū'n nīsā Begam. He passed away when he was forty five years old on the afternoon of the 18th of Sha bān 1219 A.H. (1804 A D) during the reign of Aḡimūd Dawla Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh III

DAUGHTERS OF MUHAMMAD ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH I.

By Khadīja Bēgam.

Mōtī Bēgam was the first daughter. She was junior to 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. After she attained the age of puberty, she was betrothed to Ghulām Muhiyyud-Dīn, styled as *Abdul-Hayy Khān Bahādur*, the sister's son of Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur the senior. She died of small-pox before she was given in marriage

Pōtī Bēgam was the second daughter. She was junior to Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur. She attained the age of puberty. She passed away, within a week of her sister's death, of the same illness.

Būrhi Bēgam was the third daughter. She was junior to Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She was styled *Nawwāb Sultān-unnisā Bēgam* and also known as *Ṣāhib-zādī-i-kalān*. She was given in marriage to 'Abdu'l-Hādī Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Samsāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the sister's son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She gave birth to children.

Būrhi Bēgam went on a pilgrimage with her son to *Baytullāh* and other holy places, during the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. Her death in the holy Karbalā when she was sixty-eight years old, on the 23rd of *Dhu'l-hajj*, 1236 A H, (1821 A D) was reported during the reign of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

Daryā Bēgam¹ was the fourth daughter. She was junior to Nawwāb Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She was styled *Nawwāb*

(1) When the French under M Lally laid siege to Fort St George, the English Governor Pigot sent Nawwāb Wālājāh I by sea to Negapatam. In

Malikū'n nīsā Bēgam, and also known as *Şāhib sādī : mayāna*. She was given in marriage to Mawlawī Abdū'l Walī Khān Itīşāmū'd Dawla Bahādur brother of Abdū'l Hādī Khayrū'd Dīn Khān Şamşāmū'd Dawla Bahadur. She had children. She passed away, when she was sixty four years old on the 29th of Şafar, 1236 A.H., during the reign of Aẓam Jah Bahādur Nawwab Wālājāh IV.

As the fifth daughter junior to Nawwab Naşīrū'l Mulk Bahadur was born on the day of the subjugation of the fort of Vellore, Nawwāb Wālājāh I named her Fatah Begam şahiba. She was styled *Nawwāb Umdatū'n nīsā Bēgam*. She was also known as *Şāhib sādī : khurd*. She was married to Hafīz Muhammad Naşır Khān Ifţīkharū'd Dawla Bahadur the brother of Abdū'l Hādī Khayrū'd Dīn Khān Şamşāmū'd Dawla Bahadur. She was blest with children. She passed away when she was fifty two years old on the 11th of Rabī ūth-thānī 1227 A.H., (1812 A.D.) during the reign of Aẓīmū'd Dawla Bahādur Nawwab Wālājāh III.

She is the mother of the author of this book *Sawānīhāt-i Mumtāz*.

the course of the voyage a daughter was born to Nawwāb Wālājāh I. This child was named Daryā Bēgam.

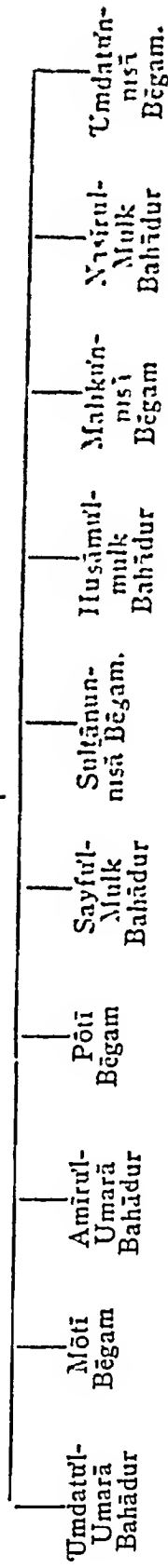
For details see *Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic* Part II pp 208 214

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MUHAMMAD ALI BAHADUR NAM WAB WAL UJAH I

=

KhADIJA BEGAM



CHILDREN OF THE SONS OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

I—CHILDREN OF 'UMDATU'L UMARA BAHADUR NAWWAB
WALAJAH II, THE FIRST SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN
BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

By Dulari Begam, the Khāss Mahall

Dulari Begam was blest with daughters. Some died in their infancy and some died just before the age of puberty.

Children by Kulthūm Bī, the wife by nikāh

Kulthūm Bī had a son 'Abdu'l Karīm Khān. He was styled Khān Bahādūr Muḥmūd Dawla Shāhsawār Jang. He was married to the daughter of Muhammad Hayat Qādir Alī Khān Bahādūr son of Iṣmat Bībī ṣāhibā of Gopamaw. He had children by her.

*Children by Ghasṭī Begam who was styled Mubāraku'n
nisa Begam the wife by nikāh*

Mubāraku'n nisa Begam had a son Alī Husayn. He was styled Tājūl Umara Bahādūr. Mājīd was his pen name. He was a poet of great merit. He was married to the younger sister of Ikramu'n nisa, the wife of Sharafu'l Umarā Bahādūr Muhammad Nī mullāh Khān. He had no children. He passed away on the 1st of Dhū'l ḥajj 1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.) two months after the demise of his father and at the beginning of the reign of Āzimu'd Dawla Bahādūr Nawwab Walājah III.

Children by Chitar Begam the wife by nikāh

Chitar Begam had a son Ghulam Bāqir Husayn Khān. He was a young child when his father was alive. During the reign of Āzimu'd Dawla Bahādūr Nawwab Walājah III he was given in marriage to the daughter of Nawwab Naṣīru'l

CH 4—CHILDREN OF AMIRU'L-UMARA BAHADUR

Mulk Bahādur by Shādī-Bēgam, the wife by *nikāh*. She died of abortion.

‘Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II took a wife by *muta* marriage, the girl brought up by Mahtāb-Bēgam, known as Razīya Bēgam. She gave birth to a daughter who was married in the life-time of the Nawwāb, her father, to Tājū'd-Dīn Khān, younger son of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān the senior. She died without issue.

The slave girls, who were brought up by Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam and Ghasīlī Bēgam, with whom the Nawwāb had commerce, had no children. Some of them were maintained by the *sakār* along with the slave girls of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, in the big *bāgh*.

MUHAMMAD ALI BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

‘UMDATU'L-UMARA BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH II

=Kulthūm Bī	=Ghasīlī Bēgam	=Chitar Bēgam
Abdul-Karīm <u>Khān</u>	Tājū'l-Umarā Bahādur	Ghulām Bāqir Husayn <u>Khān</u>

II—CHILDREN OF AMIRU'L-UMARĀ BAHADUR MADARU'L-MULK, THE SECOND SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI Khān BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

Children by Azīmu'n-nisā Bēgam, the khāss-mahall

A son, ‘Abdu'l-‘Alī Khān Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was born by Azīmu'n-nisā Bēgam. He was the eminent person who, with the help of Allāh, lighted up the *Anwarīyya* family by succeeding to the *Wālājāhī* throne after the demise of ‘Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, his uncle, and thus became the protector of the entire family.

The other wives and slave girls of Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur had no issue.

*Children of Ağımud Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb
Wālajāh III son of Amīrūl Umara Bahādur*

Children by Sā'idun nisa Bēgam

Ağımud Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālajāh III, was married during the reign of Nawwab Wālajāh I to Sā'idun nisa Bēgam eldest daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l mulk Diler Jang Naşırud Dawla II by Hāmidun nisa Bēgam şāhiba Nawwab Wālajāh I conferred upon the bride the title, *Nawwāb Bēgam*. She gave birth to two sons and a daughter.

The first son, Muhammad Munawwar was styled *Nawwāb Ağam Jah Fakhrul Umara Bahādur*.

The second son Muhammad Ali, was styled *Ağim Jah Sirdārul Umara Bahādur*.

The daughter Ağımūn nisa Bēgam known as Şāhibzādī Bēgam was married to Najmūl mulk Abdūl Şamad Khān Bahādur. She gave birth to a daughter Ahmadūn nisa Bēgam known as Şāhibzādī Nūrul-Başar. She was brought up from childhood by her maternal grandmother. After the death of her father in 1251 A.H. (1835 A.D.) Nūrul Başar was given in marriage to Abdūl Qādir who was styled *Asirul mulk Mu'taminud Dawla Abdūl Qādir Khān Bahādur Sūlāh Jang* son of her father's brother.

*Children of Ağam Jah Bahādur Nawwāb Wālajāh IV
son of Ağımud Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālajāh III*

Ağam Jah Bahādur was married in 1233 A.H., during the reign of Ağımud Dawla Bahādur Nawwab Wālajāh III to Nawwab Inayatun-nisā Bēgam, known as Bahu Bēgam. She was popular with the people by the name *Mahall-i Aliya*. She

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF AZIM JAH UMARĀ BAHĀDUR

was the eldest daughter of Zaynūd-Dawla Bahādur, one of the brothers of Haydarābād.

A son, styled *Amīn Jāh Bahādur* of Ghawghā Khān Bahādur was born to Azīm Jāh Bahādur by Bahū-Bēgam after he succeeded to the Wālājāhī throne as Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

Azīm Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV had three daughters by *Maḥḥabībun-nisā Bēgam*, his wife by rank. One daughter was born in the year 1239 A.H., in the course of his journey to Nattahar-nagar. The other two daughters were born in Madras.

The six daughters of the Nawwāb had no issue.

Daughter of Nawwāb Azīm Jāh Shāhīd-Ur-rā Bahādur, brother of Azīm Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

Azīm Jāh Bahādur, second son of Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, was married in the year 1233 A.H., (1817-18 A.D.) to Nawwāb Nūru'n-nisā, younger sister of Manall-i-šihyā. A few years later she died of child-birth.

During the reign of Azīm Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, Nawwāb Azīm Jāh Bahādur was married again in 1239 A.H. (1823 A.D.) to *Shafī'un-nisā Bēgam*, daughter of Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur by his first wife. She gave birth to a daughter, *Amatu'l-walī Waliu'n-nisā Bēgam*. A son also was born in the year 1241 A.H., (1825 A.D.) but the mother and child passed away in a period of six months.

After some years Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā (the Bēgam of Azīm Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV) arranged for another marriage for Azīm Jāh Bahādur in the year 12—A.H. The bride was *Mun'imun-nisā Bēgam*, styled *Dulhan Bēgam*,

daughter of Khan i Ālam Khan Bahādur by Ṣāliha Begam senior grand-daughter of Nawwab Sulṭanū'n nisa Bēgam. She gave birth to a daughter. May Allāh keep her safe for many years.

Nawwab Azīm Jah Bahadur had by Saḥdatu'n nisa Begam six sons and two daughters. Of these, three sons and one daughter died in childhood. The other three sons are Ahmadullāh Khān Bahadur, Muntaẓimu'd Dawla Nabī Yar Jang, Muhammad Nurullah who was styled *Umdatū'd-Dawla* and Ghulām Muhiyyu'd Dīn who was styled *Mutaẓẓu'd Dawla*.

The daughter's name was Rahīmu'n nisa Begam.

Nawwab Azīm Jah had two sons by a mistress.

The first son was Badi'ullāh Khān Bahadur Zahīru'd Dawla Fīrat Jang. He was senior to all the sons of Nawwab Azīm Jah Bahādur. Badi'ullāh Khān was married to Tahīru'n nisa Begam the *allāhi* sister of Hājī Maṣṣūru'd Dawla son of Mumtazu'l Umara Bahadur. He also took for his second wife a girl brought up by Mumtazu'n nisa Begam the second wife of Nawwab Azīm Jah Bahadur.

The second son was Muhammad Alimullah Khān Bahadur Mufidu'd Dawla Fīruz Jang.

Nawwab Azīm Jah Bahadur had two daughters by another mistress. Saḥdatu'n-nisa, the elder of the two died. The other was Habību'n nisa Bēgam.

Children of Agīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Walājah III by his nikāh wives

Children by Agīmu'n nisa Bēgam

Agīmu'd Dawla Bahadur, in obedience to the command of Nawwab Walajah I his noble grandfather, took

his third wife Āzimu'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Badru'l-Islām Khān. She had two sons and a daughter.

The first son, Ashraf Alī died in his youth

The second son, Ghulām Muhammad Husayn, was honoured with the title *Rashīdu'd-Dawla Muhammad Husayn Khān Bahādur Iyālat Jang* during the reign of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. He was married during the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur to the daughter of Amīru'd-Dawla Taqī Husayn Khān Bahādur by Ruqayya Bēgam, younger daughter of Itīzādu'd-Dawla and grand-daughter of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur.

The daughter Fāṭima Bēgam, was married, during the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, to Ghulām Dastgīr who was styled *Ustuwār Jang Ghulām Dastgīr Khān Bahādur*, son of the first wife of Nāsiṛu'd-Dawla Muhammad Ḥabībullah Khān and junior grandson of Ikhtiyār Jang. She was blest with children.

Children by Bastan Bēgam

Bastan (Yāsīn?) Bēgam who was styled *Mubāraku'n-nisā Bēgam* was married to Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III in the early part of his reign. She lived a happy life. She died without any issue

Children by Lālī Bēgam

Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III had two sons and two daughters by his wife Lālī Bēgam who was styled *Dawlatu'n-nisā Bēgam*

The first son Ghulām Muhammad was styled *Munīru'd-Dawla Ghulām Muhammad Khān Bahādur Jasārat Jang*.

The second son was Ghulām Rasūl. The title *Itibāru'd-Dawla Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādur Akbar Jang* was

conferred upon him by Nawwab Azim Jah Bahādur, the Regent.

The eldest daughter Ahmadi Begam was married to Ashrafu'n nujaba Abdur Ali. He was a widower. His first wife was the daughter of Parsan Bibi. Ahmadi Begam was blest with children. Some years later her husband died of an accident by horse riding. The second daughter Kulthum Begam was married to Ghulam Muhiyyud Din Ahmad Khan Bahadur Rastagar Jang son of Abdur Basit Khan. She had children.

Children by Badshahi Begam

'Azimud Dawla Bahādur Nawwab Walajah III invited respectfully Bādshah Begam to come from her home at Kalwa to Madras and married her. She belonged to a noble family of the Nait community.

She gave birth to a son Ghulam Abdur Qadir. The ceremony of *bismillah khudni* was celebrated for him during the reign of Azim Jah Bahadur Nawwab Walajah IV. He was given the title *Shamsud Dawla Ghulam Abdur Qadir Khan Bahadur Izzud Jang* during the regency of Nawwab Azim Jah Bahadur.

Children by Zinat mahall

Azimud Dawla Bahadur Nawwab Walajah III had a daughter by Zinat mahall, his wife by *niskah*. She was married to the son of Khan i Jahān Khan in the early part of her father's rule. She was blest with children.

MUHAMMAD ALI BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

↓
AMIRUL UMARA BAHADUR

=AZIMU N NISA BEGAM

↓
Azimud Dawla Bahādur Nawwab Walajah III

=Saidun nisa Begam

↓

↓
Azim Jah Bahādur Nawwab Walajah IV
=Inayatun-nisa Begam

↓
Azim Jah Bahādur
Nawwab-Regent

↓
Ghulam Muhammad Ghawth Khan Bahādur
Nawwab Walajah V

CH 4—CHILDREN OF SAYFU'L-MULK BAHADUR

III—CHILDREN OF NAWWAB SAYFU'L-MULK ANWARU'D-DAWLA BAHADUR, THE THIRD SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I.

Children by Badru'n-nisā Bēgam.

Nawwab Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādur had three sons and two daughters by his wife Badru'n-nisā Bēgam

Sons.

The first son, Ghulām Alī, was styled *Sayfu'd-Dawla Ghulām Alī Khān Bahādur Sayf Jang* He was married to Sakīna Bēgam, styled *Iklūl-nisā Bēgam*, daughter of Anwar 'Alī Khān, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She died of small-pox after some years without issue

Ghulām 'Alī Sayfu'd-Dawla Bahādur was again married, during the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, to Muntāz Bēgam, senior sister of Tāidu'd-Dīn Akbar, son of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur. She had no issue

Ghulām 'Alī Sayfu'd-Dawla had two sons and two daughters by Jamī'at Bī, his wife by *nikāh*

The first son, Qiyāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was married to Tāhiru'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, and had children

The second son, Qamaru'd-Dawla, was married to Munīru'n-nisā Bēgam, younger sister of Tāhiru'n-nisā Bēgam She had children.

The first daughter died of child-birth

The second daughter married and had children.

Nawras Bēgam the wife by *nikāh*, Mehru'n-nisā and Sirāju'n-nisā, the *harams* of Ghulām Alī Sayfu'd-Dawla Bahādur had no issue

Ghulām Walīullāh, the second son of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādur, was styled *Husāmū'd-Dawla Ghulām Rizā Khān Bahādur Husām Jang* He was married to Barakatu'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Nawwāb Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She had a son and two daughters.

The son who was styled Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bahadur was married to the second daughter of I'tizādud Dawla Bahadur, by his first wife. She had children. He went with his family on a pilgrimage to Karbalā during the regency of Nawwāb 'Azim Jāb Bahādur. When Ra'isul Umara Bahādur died at Karbala, Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bahādur assumed possession of the property of the deceased Bahadur in accordance with the decision of the *mujtahid* in that place. His wife and children died of plague in Karbala.

The first daughter of Ghulam Waḥidullah was Saḍdun nisā Bēgam known as Nawāsī Begam the senior. She was married to the son of I'tizādud Dawla Bahādur by his first wife. She was blest with children.

The second daughter Khadija Begam, known as Nawāsī Begam the junior was married to the second son of I'tizādud Dawla Bahadur. She had children.

[Zinatun nisā the *allāh* sister of Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bahadur, accompanied her brother to the holy Karbala where she was married to Sayyid Sajjad Husayn who had gone there with the Khan. She died of plague at Karbala. Her son Ghulam Husayn is there.]

Ghulam Nabi, the third son of Nawwāb Sayful Mulk Bahādur died in childhood.

Daughters of Nawwāb Sayful Mulk Bahādur

Amatul Khadija Begam was the first daughter of Nawwāb Sayful Mulk Bahādur. She was styled *Afsarun nisā Bēgam*. She was married to I'tizādud Dawla Hāfiz Muhammad Naṣir Khan Bahadur and was blest with children. She died of small-pox.

Amatul Zahrā Bēgam was the second daughter of Nawwāb Sayful Mulk Bahadur. She was styled *Khursīd Kulāh Bēgam*.

CH 4—CHILDREN OF SAYFU'L-MULK BAHADUR

She was married to Majdud-Dawla Bahādur Ghulām Asadullāh Khān and had children. She passed away in the last days of Azīmud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

Children of Nawwāb Sayful-mulk Bahādur born to his wives by nikāh, and haram

A daughter, Akramu'n-nisā Bēgam was brought up by Khurshīd Kulāh Bēgam. She was married to Ghulām Rasūl Khān, son of Muhammad Jawād Khān, and had children. She became a widow.

A son, Ghulām Muhammad, who was brought up by Afsaru'n-nisā Bēgam, died in his youth.

Another son, Ghulām Askarī born to Fazīlat Bī, the *nikāh* wife, died in his youth.

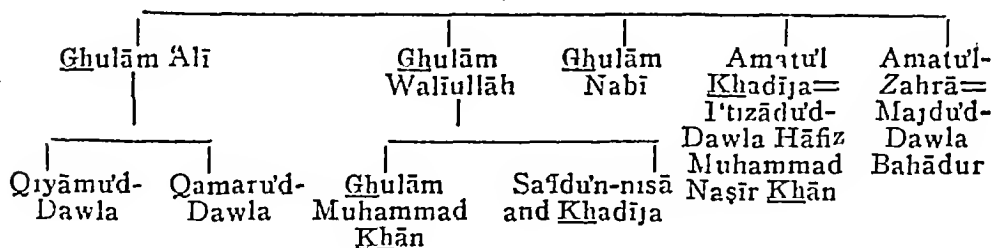
The third son styled Ghulām Mūsa Khān was born to Nawwāb Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādur by his *nikāh* wife Jahān Bēgam. He was married to Jahāndār Bēgam, daughter of the *nikāh* wife of Istikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur, the father of the author of this book. She was blest with children.

The fourth son, Muhammad Taqī, was born to Nawwāb Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādur by his *nikāh* wife Tayyibū'n-nisā. He was married to Sājida Bēgam, daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur. She died without issue.

Ṣāliha Bēgam, and Bī Khānam the wives by *nikāh*, and Gul Shabbo, and two or three *harams* had no issue.

MUHAMMAD ALI Khān BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

NAWWAB SAYFU'L-MULK BAHADUR
=BADRU'N-NISĀ BĒGAM



IV—CHILDREN OF NAWWAB HUSAMU'L MULK BAHADUR
FOURTH SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR NAW
WAB WALAJAH I

Nawwāb Husāmū'l mulk Bahādūr had a daughter, Barakatun nisa Begam, by Hāhibū'n nisa Bēgam his first wife. She was married to Husāmud Dawla Bahādūr during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and had children

Nawwāb Husāmū'l mulk Bahādūr had two daughters and one son by his other wives

Farhatū'n nisa Begam, the eldest daughter was brought up by 'Umdatū'n nisa Begam from her childhood, for she was lonely During the reign of 'Umdatū'l Umara Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh II Farhatū'n nisa was married to Quṭbūd Dīn Alī Khān grandson of Munirūd Dīn Khān. During the reign of Azīmūd Dawla Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh III she returned to the house of her parents She had children and they also were married

Ashrafun nisa Begam younger daughter, was married to Ghulam Husayn one of the nobles of Gopamaw She had no children. She became a widow after some years

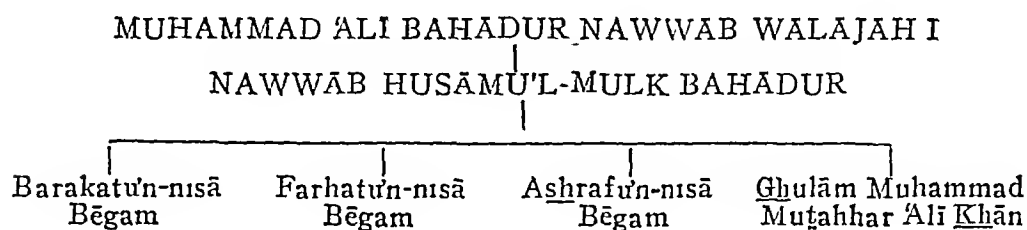
Ghulam Muhammad Mutahhar Alī Khān, son of Nawwāb Husāmū'l mulk Bahādūr was a learned man pious and religious He was married to Qamarū'n nisa Begam who belonged to a noble family of Nair community She was blest with children.

When Nawwāb Husāmū'l mulk Bahādūr his father passed away Nawwāb Azīm Jah Bahādūr, the Regent, conferred upon Ghulam Mutahhar Alī Khān Bahādūr the title *Husāmū'l-Mulk* enjoyed by his father and also recognised him as the successor to his father's estate

A few years after the death of his mother Ghulam Mutahhar Alī Khān Bahādūr was actuated by a feeling of dutifulness to dispatch her coffin to the holy Karbalā and arranged for its burial in the grave yard of the holy *gunbad* of Imām Husayn, on him be peace. All praise be to Allah!

CH 4—CHILDREN OF NAŞIRU'L-MULK BAHADUR

What a good fortune! The deceased reached her destination through the help of her son



V—CHILDREN OF NAWWAB NAŞIRUL-MULK BAHADUR THE FIFTH SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

Nawwāb Naşīru'l-mulk Bahādur had no children by Khayru'n-nisā Bēgam, his first wife

He had two daughters and a son by his other wives. The eldest daughter was born to Husnī Bēgam the *haram*. This child was brought up by Badru'n-nisā Bēgam, mother of Sayfu'd-Dawla and was given in marriage to Nāsir Ālī, grandson of 'Ismat Bī. After some time she died of child-birth during the lifetime of her father.

The second daughter, Amatu'l-Sakīna Bēgam, was born to Shādī Bēgam, eldest daughter of Mī Hāshim Ālī of Machhli-bandar (Masulipatam)

During the reign of Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, Amatu'l-Sakīna was given in marriage to Bāqir Husayn Khān Bahādur son of Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II by Chitar Bēgam. She died of abortion

The son, Muhammad Salābat Khān, was brought up kindly by Nawwāb Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur after the death of his father Nawwāb Naşīru'l-Mulk Bahādur in the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and was married to Jahāniya Bēgam, younger sister of Jahāndār Bēgam, daughter of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur. She was blest with children.

A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV conferred upon him the title *Naşīru'l-Mulk Bahādur Muhammad Salābat Khān*

He went with his family on a pilgrimage to the holy *Baytullah* during the regency of Nawwab Azim Jah Bahādur and returned home. He has obtained leave for three years with a view to go again on a pilgrimage to the holy places. May he have the good luck! He is a very wise and capable person. He is religious and versed in all branches of learning.

MUHAMMAD ALI BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

NAWWAB NAŞIRU'L-MULK BAHADUR

Daughter
=Nāşir All

Amatul Sakina Bēgam
=Biqir Husayn Khān

Muhammad Şalābat
Khān Naşirul
Mulk Bahādur

CHILDREN OF THE DAUGHTERS OF
MUHAMMAD 'ALI KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB
WĀLĀJĀH I.

*Children of Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam the first
daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I.*

Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam had two daughters and a son.

The first daughter Razīya Bēgam passed away before marriage in the early part of the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

The second daughter Ahmadī Bēgam, known as Shāh Bēgam, was given in marriage, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I to A'izzu'd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang, son of Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān, by his wife from Gopamaw. Shāh Bēgam had three sons and three daughters.

The eldest son, Ḥaydar Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur Imtiyāzu'd-Dawla, was given in marriage to the daughter of Sharafu'l-Umarā Muhammad Nī'mullāh Khān Bahādur, and had children. After her death Ḥaydar Husayn Khān was married to Āliya Bēgam, daughter of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur by his second wife.

The second son Ahmad Husayn Khān Bahādur Muhiyyu'd-Dawla was first married to the daughter of Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur by his first wife. After her death Ahmad Husayn Khān married the daughter of Abdu'l-Hayy Khān Natthū Miyān and had children. The third son, Ghulām Mustafā Khān Bahādur Ikrāmu'd-Dawla was married to the daughter of Burhānī Bēgam and had children.

The first daughter, Sāliha Bēgam, was married to Khān Ālam Khān Bahādur and had children.

The second daughter, Rahmatu'n nisa Begam, became second wife of I tizadu'd Dawla Hāfiḡ Muhammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur and had children

The third daughter died of an accident by fire in Rajab 12—A H

Hāfiḡ Muhammad Abdu'l Husayn Khān son of Nawwab Sulṭānu'n nisā Begam was styled *Ra'isu'l Umarā Bahādur*. He was junior to Ahmadi Bēgam. He was married¹ during the reign of 'Umdatul Umara Bahādur Nawwab Wālah II to the daughter of Ruknu'd Dawla Ghulam Ashraf Khān Bahādur an *Aṣafiyya amīr*. As she had no issue, Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur took a second wife during the reign of Aḡimu'd Dawla Bahadur Nawwab Wālah III. The bride was Murtaḡa Begam, great grand daughter of Mir Mahdi ṣahib the *khush-nawīs*. The marriage was celebrated with all the ceremonials prevalent in the Deccan. She was blest with children

During the reign of Aḡimu'd Dawla Bahadur Nawwah Wālah III Ra'isu'l Umara Bahadur went with his family and mother on a pilgrimage to the holy *Baytullāh* and the shrines in Karbalā, and settled down in Karbalā

Ra'isu'l Umara Bahādur had a daughter and a son. The daughter was married to Husaynu d Dīn Khān Shahriyār I Mulk Bahādur

The son Ghulam Sajjad Husayn Khān was honoured with the title *Aḡamīl-Umarā Sajjād Husayn Khān Bahādur* by Fataḡ Alī Shāh the Padshāh of Ajam (Persia)

After the death of his mother, Ra'isu'l Umarā Bahadur took another wife from a noble family from Hind and a son was born. His name was Mirza Ghulam Husayn.

(1) For an account of the marriage festivities see *Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic*, Part III pp 60—65.

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF MALIKU'N-NISĀ BĒGAM

He came away to Madras and the reason for leaving his father in *Karbalā* is not known. After the death of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur, 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent, conferred upon Mīrzā Ghulām Husayn the title *Mīrzā Ghulām Husayn Khān Bahādur Saīdā Jang*. Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur had also children by *haram*.

Children of Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam the second daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam's son, Ghulām Khayrullāh known as Ghulām Asadullāh, was styled *Majdu'd-Dawla Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur Muzaffar Jang*. He was given in marriage, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, to the younger sister of Sayfud-Dawla Bahādur. She gave birth to two sons and four daughters.

The eldest son Ghulām Yadullāh died in childhood.

The second son, Ghulām 'Abbas 'Alī, was honoured with the title *Sayfu'l-Mulk Anwarud-Dawla* by 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. He is not yet formally married but he has children by his *nikah* wives and *haram*.

The first daughter Maqbūlu'n-nisā Bēgam, known as Bēgam Bahū, was given in marriage to Ghulām Muhammad 'Alī Nasību'd-Dawla known as Muhammadī Mīyān.

The second daughter, Luṭfu'n-nisā Bēgam, became the second wife of Ghulām Kāzım I'tizādu'd-Dawla Bahādur and has children.

The third daughter 'Abbāsī Bēgam was married to Rīzā Husayn, son of Ghulām Kāzım by his first wife, and has children.

The fourth daughter Ḥaydarī Bēgam was married to the eldest son of Ghulām 'Abdu'l-Salām 'Ābidīn Khān the senior brother of Ghulām Kāzım.

The children of Ghulam Khayrullah Bahadur by his *nikāh* wives and haram will be given later

Children of Nawwāb Umdatū'n nisā Begam the third daughter of Nawwāb Wālayāh I

Nawwāb Umdatū'n nisā Begam *ṣāhibā*, the noble mother of the humble author of this book had five sons and seven daughters. Two sons and all the daughters died some in their childhood and some before the age of puberty.

The three sons who survived are

The first son Ghulam Fir known as Muhammad Naṣir was honoured with the title *I ṭisādūd Dawla Hāfiṣ Muhammad Naṣir Khān Bahādur Naṣir Jang* by Umdatū'l Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālayāh II. Ghulam Fir was married to the elder sister of Sayfud Dawla Bahadur during the reign of Muhammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālayāh I and had four sons and three daughters.

The first son was Abdu'l Salām known as Ghulam Ābidīn Khān Bahādur. He married had children and died.

The second son Ghulam Kaṣīm Khān, was styled *I ṭisādūd Dawla*. He was married to the younger daughter of Husamu'd Dawla and had children. After her death Ghulam Kaṣīm Khān married the daughter of Majdu'd Dawla and had children.

The third son Ghulam Bāqir died in childhood.

The fourth son Muhammad Muḥtabā was married to the daughter of Qamarud Dīn Khān brought up by Ināyatū'n nisā Begam, wife of Taju'l Umarā Bahadur. She was blest with children.

The first daughter died before marriage.

The second daughter Amatu'l Batula Bēgam was styled *Umdatū'n nisā Bēgam*. She was given in marriage to Ghulam Muhammad Khān son of Husamu'd Dawla.

CH 4—CHILDREN OF 'UMDATU'N-NISA BEGAM

after the death of her father in the reign of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, and had children. She went with her husband on a pilgrimage to the holy Karbalā. After some time she and her daughter died there.

The third daughter Amatu'l-Ruqayya Bēgam was married during the lifetime of her own grand-father, to Taqī Husayn Khān Bahādur, son of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur. She gave birth to children

The second son of 'Umdatun-nisā Bēgam was Ghulām Āl-i-Muhammad Sāhibu'd-Dawla, known as Ghulām Zāmin Muhammad Karīm. He was styled *Khun shīdu'l-Mulk*, and after the death of his noble father was styled *Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Muhammad Nāsir Khān Bahādur Samsām Jang*. He is an humble servant, the author of this book, *Sawāmihāt-i-Mumtāz*

He was married, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, to Kanīz-i-Zahrā Muhammadatu'n-nisā Bēgam, younger sister of Majdu'd-Dawla and had children. After the demise of the first wife, Sāhibu'd-Dawla married a *sayyida* during the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur

The third son of 'Umdatun-nisā Bēgam, Muhammad Ḥabībullāh, was styled *Nāsiu'd-Dawla Itisām Jang*. He was married,¹ during the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, to the senior daughter of Ghulām Jilānī Khān Bahādur Ikhtiyār Jang. She had children. After her death, Nāsiu'd-Dawla Bahādur took a second wife during the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur. The bride was the younger daughter of Ruknu'd-Dīn Khān Zafaru'd-Dawla. She was blest with children

(1) For an account of the marriage of Nāsiu'd-Dawla see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, pp 121-128

OTHER WIVES AND CHILDREN OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I.

Khatuna Begam Badshah Begam, and Khadīja Begam are the *mikālī* wives of Nawwāh Wālah I chosen from the Nāt community Nawwab Wālah I had much affection towards them.

Khatuna Begam and Badshah Begam were without children

Khadīja Begam the senior sister of Akbar Ali Khan Haydarī gave birth to three daughters

The first daughter was given in marriage to Najaf Ali Khān son of Abdu'l Ghanī Khān She had children

The second daughter Hafīza Begam was married to Ṣadiq Ali Khan She gave birth to a daughter Fāṭima Begam who was given in marriage to A izzud Dīn Khan son of Nizāmud Dīn Ahmad Khān

The third daughter Rahī'a Begam was given in marriage to Nizāmud Dīn Ahmad Khan mentioned above. She had children

Children of Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālah I by mistresses

A son 'Abdu'l Ma hud Khan Jamshid Jang was senior to all the children of Nawwab Wālah I He married and had children

The second son, Muhammad Ishaq Khān Bahadur Firuz Jang was married to Parsan Bī. He died and had no children

The third son 'Abdu'l Aziz, died in childhood.

The fourth son, Muhammad Jawād Khān Bahādur, married and had children

The fifth son, IIāfiz Hasan Ālī Khān, was styled *Rustam Jang Bahādur*. He married and had many children

The sixth son, ‘Abdu’l-Ghaffār Khān Bahādur Thābit Jang, who was brought up by Khātūna Bēgam, married the younger sister of Khadija Bēgam, and had a daughter and a son by her.

The daughter of ‘Abdu’l-Ghaffār Khān was married during the reign of ‘Azīmu’d-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III to ‘Abdu’l-Bāsīt Khān and had children. She passed away at Nāgūr in 1238 A.H (1822 A D) during the reign of A‘zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. Her husband also died after some time

The son, Ghulām Murtaẓā who was brought up by Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā was honoured with the title *Mumtāẓul-Mulk Rafī‘ud-Dawla* Ghulām *Murtazā* Khān Bahādur Thābit Jang by A‘zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV He was married to the daughter of Najaf Ālī Khān Bahādur and had children

The seventh son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Nasrullāh Khān Bahādur Qawī Jang, the eighth son Ghulām Muhammad Khān Qasūr Jang, and the ninth son Muhammad Ismā‘īl Khān Shēr Jang Bahādur were brought up by Bādshāh Bēgam They all married in due course Qasūr Jang died without issue Shēr Jang died leaving children. Qawī Jang has children

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had a daughter, Maryamu’n-nisā Bēgam by Ḥamīda Bī, his *nikāh* wife Maryamu’n-nisā Bēgam was brought up by Bādshāh Bēgam, and during the lifetime of Nawwāb Wālājāh I she was given in marriage to Mahfūz Khān as his first wife She died after some years without issue

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had two sons and two daughters by Lāl-mahall.

The son, Ghulam Hasan Khān Dilāwar Jang Bahādur married and has children. He is the tenth son of the Nawwāb.

Abu Turab Khan Shuj'at Jang Bahadur, the eleventh son was married and has children.

Rahimū'n nīsā Begam, born to Lāl Mahall is the fifth daughter of Nawwāb Walājāh I. She was given in marriage to Ghulam Nūrī Khan Afrasīyab Jang son of Badrū'l Islām Khan.

Rahimū'n nīsā Begam gave birth to a daughter, Ahmad
ū'n nīsā who was married to Khayrūd Dīn Husayn
Khān.

Faḡīlatū'n nīsā Begam, born to Lal Mahall, is the sixth daughter of Nawwāb Walājāh I. She was married to Muḥammad Bāqir eldest grandson of Iṣmat Bī. Faḡīlatū'n nīsā became a widow without issue.

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had a daughter Luṭfū'n nīsā Begam by Amīna Bī the Turkan mahall. Luṭfū'n-nīsā, who is the seventh daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I was given in marriage to Mahfuz Khan as his second wife. She gave birth to children. Now she is a widow.

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had also two other Turkan mahall. He was very kind and showed special consideration to them. Of these one was Nawwāb Ra'īsū'n nīsā Begam. She gave birth to a son and three daughters.

The son ranks as the twelfth son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. His name is Husayn Nawāz Khān Aḡīmū'l Umara I ḥimādū'l Mulk Bahadur. He was married in the beginning of the reign of Aḡīmū'd Dawla Bahadur Nawwāb Wālājāh III to the daughter of Ibad Allī Khān who belonged to a noble family of the Nāiṭ community. She had no issue. Aḡīmū'l Umarā had no children by his two other *niskāh* wives. He passed away during the early part of the reign of Aḡam Jah Bahadur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

The three daughters of Nawwāb Wālājāh I by Ra'īsu'n-nisā Bēgam are Sharafu'n-nisā Bēgam, Azīzu'n-nisā Bēgam and Sirāju'n-nisā Bēgam

Sharafu'n-nisā Bēgam ranks as the eighth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. Nawwāb Wālājāh I wanted to give her in marriage to Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur his nephew. But when he got information through his own daughters about the unwillingness of his sister, (the mother of Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur) he did not press his idea, and arranged for the marriage of Sharafu'n-nisā Bēgam with Abdu'l-Hafiz Khān Bahādur Saṭwat Jang, son of Hāmid Ālī Khān, one of the nobles of Gopamaw.

Azīzu'n-nisā Bēgam, ranks as the ninth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She was married to Badru'd-Dīn Husayn Khān Bahādur, son of Abdu'l-Ilayy Khān.

Sirāju'n-nisā Bēgam ranks as the tenth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She was married to Ghawth Muhammad Khān, younger son of Ṣādiq Ālī Khān. Of these daughters some had issue, some had not.

Nawwāb Zēbu'n-nisā Bēgam, the other Turkan *mahall* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, had two sons and four daughters. The sons, Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur Ashrafu'l-Mulk and Abdu'l-Hamīd Khān I'tizādu'l-Mulk rank as the thirteenth and fourteenth sons of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. They were married during the reign of Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and had children

Abdu'l-Hamīd Khān I'tizādu'l-mulk, the fourteenth son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I had also children by *nikāh* wives and *harams*

The four daughters of Nawwāb Wālājāh I by Zēbu'n-nisā Bēgam are Fakhrū'n-nisā Bēgam, Zīnatu'n-nisā Bēgam, Dawlatu'n-nisā Bēgam and Afzalu'n-nisā Bēgam

Fakhrū'n-nisā Bēgam known as Qādir Bī, ranks as the eleventh daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She was married to

Fayṣ Muhammad Khān Bahādur, younger son of Ihsānullāh Khān

Zinatun nisā Bēgam who ranks as the twelfth daughter of Nawwab Wālājāh I was married to Jalālud Dīn Khān eldest son of Ṣadiq Alī Khān

Dawlat in nisā Bēgam, the thirteenth daughter of Nawwab Wālājāh I was married to Faṣl Husayn Khān younger brother of Najaf Alī Khān

Afṣalun nisā Bēgam the fourteenth daughter of Nawwab Wālājāh I, was brought up by Sulṭānu'n nisā Bēgam and was given in marriage to Abdu'l Laṭīf Khān Bahadur younger son of Hamid Ali Khān

Baṣī Bī ṣahība, the Turkan *mahall* was the constant companion of Nawwab Wālājāh I. She went on a pilgrimage to Makka After her return she was styled Hajjātī Bī ṣahība. She had no children

During the last days of Nawwab Wālājāh I four Turkans Naṣīsa Bī Zubayda Bī Ā iṣḥa Bī and Kulthūm Bī came from Arabia through Parsan Bibi and lived in the palace of the Nawwab After his death they also passed away

The details about some of the children of Nawwab Wālājāh I are not given for want of space in this little book.

Nawwāh Wālājāh I had also in his *ḥaram* women who came from Abyssinia and other places. Of these some died. Others are spending their time in comfort under the benign protection of Aḡīm Jāh Bahādur the Nawwab-Regent.

CHILDREN OF NAWWĀB SHUKŌHU'L-MULK
 NASĪRU'D-DAWLA ABDU'L-WAHHĀB KHĀN
 BAHĀDUR NUṢRAT JANG, YOUNGER
 BROTHER OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHĀN
 BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH I.

Children by Lārī Bēgam.

Lārī Bēgam was a *sayyida* of a noble family. She was the daughter of Mīr Ādil Khān sāhib. She had two sons and two daughters.

The first son, 'Abdu'l-Ṣamad Khān Dilēr Jang Nasīru'd-Dawla Bahādur II was married to Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam daughter of 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Khān Bahādur and had children.

The second son, Khān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Tahawwur Jang was married to Miṣrī Bēgam and had no issue.

The first daughter Dulārī Bēgam known as Khāss-mahall, was married to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

The second daughter, Madārī Bēgam, was styled *Azīmu'n-nisā Bēgam*. She was married to Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, brother of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur.

Children by Allāh Rakhī Bēgam

Allāh Rakhī Bēgam had three sons and four daughters.

The first son, Iqtidār Khān Bahādur, was married and he had children. He became a martyr in his fight against the *pālayagār* of Chittoor during the days of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

The second son, Sarfarāz 'Alī Khān Bahādur, who was married and had children, died during the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

The third son, Sarfaraz Hasan Khān Bahadur Muhtasham Jang known as Nadimullah ṣāhih was married and he had children. He had the good fortune to go on a pilgrimage during the regency of Aḡim Jāh Bahadur the Nawwab-Regent in the company of his own senior grandson and return to Madras.

Sarfarāz Hasan Khān had a son Muḥammad Aḡızullāh Khan Ashraf Jang Bahadur. He was wise and intelligent. He was given in marriage to the daughter of Sarfarāz Ali Khān Bahadur his own uncle. He was blest with children.

Badrūn nisā Begam the first daughter was married to Nawwāh Sayfu'l Mulk Bahādur. She died during the reign of Umdatul Umara Bahadur Nawwāb Wālahah II out of sorrow at the separation of Ḥusamud Dawla her son¹.

Karamatun nisā Begam, the second daughter, was married to Naṣīrud Dīn Ahmad Khān and had children.

Ahmadī Begam the third daughter was married to Jabbar Miyan.

Rahmatun nisā Begam, the fourth daughter was married to Najmud Dīn Husayn Khān known as Khādu Miyan and had children.

*Sons of Nawwāb Shukōhul Mulk Naṣīrud Dawla Bahādur I
by mistresses*

A son Abdu'l Razzaq Khān Bahadur Zāhir Jang was married. He had children.

Karīmud Dīn Ahmad Khān Bahādur Ṣawlat Jang another son, was married. He had children.

The other *ḥarams* of Nawwāb Shukōhul Mulk Naṣīrud Dawla Bahadur I had no issue. Details about them are not given to avoid a lengthy account.

(1) For details see *Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic* Part III pp. 79-82.

*Children of Abdu'l-Samad Khān Dilēr Jang Bahādur
Nasīru'd-Dawla II, son of Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk
Nasīru'd-Dawla Bahādur I*

Children by Hamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam

Hamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam known as Ḥazrat Wālida Bēgam sāhiba had three sons and four daughters.

Sons

The eldest son, Muhammad Nī'mullāh Khān, who was styled Sharafu'l-Umarā Shukōhul-Mulk Nasīru'd-Dawla Fatahyāb Jang Bahādur was brave, high-minded, and a friend of the poor. Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III conferred upon him the *mansab* and the title of his father and recognised his claims to the estate of his father.

Muhammad Nī'mullāh Khān was married to Ikrāmu'n-nisā, daughter of Nāsīru'd-Dīn Muhammad Khān and had by her four daughters and a son

The first daughter was married to Imtiyāzu'd-Dawla, grandson of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam. She had children.

The second daughter was given in marriage to Ghulām Jilānī Khān. She had children.

The third daughter was married to Ghulām Jilānī Khān Suhrāb Jang, son of Ḥaydar Jang the senior.

Ḥaydar Jang the senior was the husband of Sukālī Bēgam, sister of Sharafu'l-Umarā Bahādur. Sukālī Begam became a widow. Later on she died at Nāgūr.

The fourth daughter was married to Muhammad Ālī, son of Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān.

Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādur, son of Muhammad Nī'mullāh Khān by Ikrāmu'n-nisā was styled *Anwārud*

Dawla. After the death of his father, Azim Jah Bahadur the Nawwab-Regent conferred upon him the title *Sharafu'l Umara Shukohul Mulk Nasirud Dawla Fatah Jang Bahadur*. He was married to the daughter of Mumtazu'l Umara Bahadur, and was blest with children. After some years he became a widower.

The details about other wives and children of Muhammad Nizamullah Khan are not given to avoid a lengthy account.

Shukohul Mulk Mumtazu'l Umara Amirul Mulk Itimad ud Dawla Bahadur second son of Nasirud Dawla Bahadur II was married first to the daughter of Najmud Din Husayn Khan eldest son of Ihsanullah Khan. Four daughters were born.

The first daughter was given in marriage to 'Azizud Dawla Bahadur, son of Jan Alam Khan. The second daughter was married to Muhyud Dawla, second son of Mustaqim Jang Bahadur. The third daughter who was given in marriage to Nawwab Azim Jah Sirajul Umara Bahadur (the Nawwab-Regent) was blest with children. The fourth daughter was married to Ghulam Ra'ul Khan Bahadur Sharaful Umara, and she had children.

Shukohul Mulk Mumtazu'l Umara Bahadur took another wife with the permission of his noble mother and his respectable sister from a noble family of the Nair community. She died of child birth. The child also passed away.

Shukohul Mulk Mumtazu'l Umara Bahadur had two sons and two daughters by other women.

The eldest son Mansurud Dawla Bahadur was a *hafiz* of *Qur'an*. The second son was the *bilal* brother of Mansurud Dawla Bahadur. During the reign of Azim Jah Bahadur the Nawwab-Regent, both the brothers had the good fortune to go on a pilgrimage.

CH 4—CHILDREN OF NAŚIRU'D-AWLĀ BAHĀDUR II

to the holy Baytullāh and Madīna, the illuminated. After they returned to Madras the eldest son, Mansūru'd-Dawla Bahādur was appointed in the *kār-khāna* of his father. He was married to the daughter of Qudrat Karīm Khān

The first daughter of Shukōhu'l-Mulk Muntāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur was married to Zuhīru'd-Dawla, eldest son of Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent The second daughter is not yet married.

Abdu'l-Hayy Khān, third son of Nasīru'd-Dawla Bahādur II by Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam, died after attaining majority

Daughters of Nasīru'd-Dawla Bahādur II by Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam

The first daughter, Sa'īdu'n-nisā Bēgam sāhibā, was given in marriage to Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and was styled *Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā*

The second daughter, Burhānī Bēgam sāhibā was married to Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur Sikandar Jang, known as Shāh Ashrafullāh She was blest with children.

The third daughter Munawwaru'n-nisā Bēgam, known as Munnū Bēgam was married to Jān-i-Ālam Khān, eldest son of Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Khān She had a son 'Azīzu'd-Dawla.

The fourth daughter, Sukālī Bēgam, was married to Wārith Ali Khān Bahādur Ḥaydar Jang and had three sons and one daughter

The eldest son, Ghulām Jilānī Khān Suhrāb Jang, was given in marriage but he died The second son, Muhammad Sa'īdu'd-Dīn, was later on styled *Haydar Jang Bahādur*, and the third son Muhammad 'Alāu'd-Dīn was later on styled *Ibrat Jang Bahādur*. The daughter was married to Tāīdu'd-Dīn Khān Akbar, son of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur. She was blest with children.

Details about other children are not given

Details about other children of Nawwāb Shukōhu Mulk Naṣīru'd Dawla Bahadur,

details about the children of Shaykh Masha'yikh Makh dūm Shāh Naṣīru'd Dīn Bīgirāmī

the descendants of Riyāzullāh Khan as far as Zakiyyu'd-Dīn Khān father of Mu'azzamu'l Haq Zakiyyu'd Dīn Khān II, who was appointed Qāzī at Khammam by the Company

can be learnt from Khulāṣatūl-Ansāb written by Qudrat Ahmad son of Hafīz Inayat Ahmad of Gopamaw

Children of Shaykh Abdu'l Wali Ālī Rutbat brother of Shaykh Muhammad Anwar Hājī Muqaddas

children of Khayru'd Dīn Khān I Khayru'd Dīn Khān II and Karīmū'n nisā Begam, known as Choṭī Bēgam and styled *Haṣrat Bēgam ṣāhibā* younger sister of Muhammad Ālī Khān Bahadur Amīru'l Hind Nawwab Wālājah I as detailed in the book *Tadhkirātūl Ansāb* are given in the following pages

CHILDREN OF SHAYKH ABDU'L-WĀLĪ ALI RUTBAT.

Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī was married to the daughter of Shaykh Abdu'l-Qādir, son of Shaykh Na'imullāh. She had a son, Shaykh Khayrullāh, and a daughter, who was given in marriage to Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahīd¹.

Shaykh Abdu'l Wālī took his second wife, daughter of Mawlawī Ilāhdād and third wife, daughter of Qāzī Muhammad Rīzā, known as Qāzī Jīwan.

The second wife had a son, Muhammad Anān, and a daughter Bībī Ujjiyālī.

The third wife had a son, Munīru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur.

Shaykh Khayrullāh, son of Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī, by his first wife, was married to Rābi'a, daughter of Mawlawī Ilāhdād. She had three sons and two daughters.

The sons were Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I, Abdu'l-Hakīm Khān, and Ghulām Muhammad Khān.

Fāṭima, the first daughter was married to Badru'l-Islām Khān, and Larāī, the second daughter, to 'Alī Muhammad Khān, son of Shāh Abdu'l-Nabī.

CHILDREN OF KHAYRU'D-DIN KHAN I

Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I was given in marriage to Arzānī Bī, daughter of Shaykh Muhammad Hayāt. He had two sons, Abdu'l-Subhān Khān Shahīd and Abdu'l-Rahmān.

After the death of Arzānī Bī, Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I married the daughter of Shaykh Muhammad Ṣālih, son of Qāzī Abdu'l-Wājīd. She had three sons and

(1) He is the father of Muhammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālā-jāh I.

a daughter The sons are, Shaykh Ghulam Ahmad, Afzalud Dīn Muhammad Khān and Mawlawī Muṣṭafā Ali Khan. Rahmat Bibī the daughter, was given in marriage to Wafīullāh Khan

Children of Shaykh Ghulam Ahmad

Shaykh Ghulam Ahmad the eldest son of Khayrūd Dīn Khān I by his second wife was married to the daughter of Shaykh Ahmad Khayrabādī, and he had two sons and a daughter
The sons are Ghulam Muhammad and Qutbūd Dīn Ahmad Khan.

The daughter was given in marriage to Burhānullah Khan son of Ihsānullāh Khan

Ghulam Muhammad the first son of Shaykh Ghulam Ahmad went away to Syria after completing his studies and settled down there.

Qutbūd Dīn Ahmad Khan the second son, was married to Āṣīma Bibī, daughter of Faṣṭullāh Khān, and had four sons and a daughter The sons are Qudrat Muhammad Qudrat Rahīm Khan styled *Faṣṭullāh Khān* Qudrat Karīm Khan and Qudrat Hakīm Khan

Qudrat Muhammad the first son of Qutbūd Dīn Ahmad Khan was married to the daughter of Mawlawī Abdu'l Hayy Ziyāullah Khān II and had a son Mawlawī Qudrat Muṣṭafī Dīn.

Qudrat Muhammad again married, after the death of his first wife, the daughter of Shaykh Ahsanullāh, son of Muhammad Hayāt. She had a son Hakīm Qudrat Nabl.

Qudrat Muṣṭafī Dīn son of Qudrat Muhammad by his first wife was given in marriage

to the daughter of Miṣbāḥullāh Khān Multazim Jang Bahādur. She died without issue. Then he married the daughter of Hāfiz ‘Ināyat Ahmad, son of Hāfiz Muhammad Sharafu’l Haq. She had a daughter.

Hakīm Qudrat Nabī, son of Qudrat Muhammad by his second wife, was married to the daughter of Qāziu’l-quzzāt Afzalul-‘ulamā Irtazā ‘Alī Khān Bahādur. She was blest with children.

Qudrat Rahīm Khān, styled *Fazlullāh Khān*, second son of Quṭbu’-Dīn Ahmad Khān, was married to the daughter of Qāziu’l-quzzāt Mawlawī Mustafā ‘Alī Khān Bahādur. She gave birth to three sons, Muhammad Qudrat ‘Alīm Khān, Mawlawī Qudrat Hāfiz, and Qudrat Ṣafī.

Muḥammad Qudrat ‘Alīm Khān was married to the daughter of Mawlawī Quṭbu’-Dīn, son of Mawlawī ‘Imādu’-Dīn.

Mawlawī Qudrat Hāfiz was married to the daughter of Qāziu’l-quzzāt Irtazā ‘Alī Khān Bahādur. She was blest with children.

Qudrat Karīm Khān, third son of Quṭbu’-Dīn Ahmad Khān was married to the daughter of Zafaru’-Dawla Ruknu’-Dīn Khān, and was blest with children.

Qudrat Hakīm Khān, fourth son of Quṭbu’-Dīn Ahmad Khān was married to the daughter of Hājī Hizbu’l-Haq, son of Hājī Ziyāullāh Khān and had two sons and a daughter. The first son, Qudrat Hasan, became the son-in-law of Hājī Karam ‘Alī Khān. The second son, Qudrat Haydar

became the son in law of Hakīm Qudrat Nabī

The details about the children of the daughter of Qudrat Hakīm Khān of the daughter of Qutbūd Dīn Ahmad Khān, of Afzalud Dīn Muhammad Khān and others may be found in *Khulāṣatūl Ansāb*

Children of Mawlawī Muṣṭafā Alī Khān

Mawlawī Muṣṭafā Alī Khān the third son of Khayrud Dīn Khān I by his second wife was given in marriage to the second daughter of Qāzī Hakīm Alī Khān son of Qāzī Muḥammad Muḥarak, son of Qāzī Muḥammad Dā'im, son of Qāzī Abdu'l Hayy son of Abdu'l Halīm, son of Qāzī Muḥarak II son of Qāzī Shihābud Dīn son of Qāzī Alā'ud Dīn son of Qāzī Khātīm, son of Qāzī Kabīr son of Khawāja Muḥarak Awliya (who was the *murīd* and *khālifa* of Ḥaṣrat Nizāmūd Dīn Awliya) son of Qāzī Abdu'l Ghanī son of Qāzī Muḥammad Dā'im.

Mawlawī Muṣṭafā Alī Khān had two sons and two daughters.

The first son, Ghulam Muṣṭabā styled *Muṣṭafā Alī Khān Bahādur* was the Qāzīul quzzāt at Madras.

The second son was Ghulām Saīd

The first daughter was given in marriage to the son of Hājī Ziyāullah Khān The second daughter became the daughter in law of Zakīyyud Dīn Muḥammad Khān

Ghulam Muṣṭabā was married to the daughter of Rōshan Muḥammad Khān son of Hājī Ziyāullah Khān He had three sons, and a daughter

CH 4—CHILDREN OF KHAYRU'D-DIN KHAN II

The first son, Mawlawī Irtazā 'Alī Khān Bahādur Afzalul-'ulamā, was appointed Qāziul-quzzāt at Madras after the death of his father.

The second son was Ghulām Jilānī, styled *Istafā-'Alī Khān*.

The third son was Muzaffar 'Alī, styled *Khayrūd-Dīn Ahmad Khān*.

The daughter was given in marriage to Qudrat Rahīm Khān

CHILDREN OF KHAYRU'D-DIN KHAN BAHADUR II

Abdu'l-Hakīm Khān, son of Shaykh Khayrullāh, son of Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī by his first wife was married to the daughter of Ghulām Muḥammad Qāzī zāda of Gōpamaw. He had a son, Ghulām Pīr, styled *Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Nāzim Jang*. This Ghulām Pīr Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II is the grandfather of the humble writer of this book.

Ghulām Pīr Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II was married to the sister of Nawwāb Muḥammad Mahfūz Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. After she passed away Ghulām Pīr Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II took for his wife Karīmū'n-nisā Bēgam, known as Ḥaṣrat Bēgam, younger sister of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She gave birth to a daughter and six sons.

The daughter, Janglī Bēgam died before the age of puberty on the 19th of Shabān 12—A. H.

The first son Abdu'l-Hādī, was styled *Samsāmūd-Mulk Samsāmūd-Dawla Muhammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Şamsām Jang*. He was given in marriage to the eldest daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and had children. He passed away on the 17th of Şafar of 12—A.H.

The second son Abdul Hakim Khān Bahādur Jalālud Dawla Sardar Jang, died a bachelor in Haydarābād on the 14th of Sha'abān 12—A H.

The third son, Abdu'l Qādir Khān, was styled *Amīrūd-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur*. He was married in the reign of Nawwāb Walājah I to Rāhatun nisā Bēgam, who belonged to a noble family of the Nāiṭ community. She gave birth to three sons and a daughter.

The first son Rīṣa Husayn Khān was married in boyhood to Umra Begam known as Amrū Bī daughter of Naṣīrud Dīn Ahmad Khān.

The second son Taqī Husayn Khān Bahadur was styled *Amīrūd Dawla*. He was married during the lifetime of his father to Ruqayya Begam younger daughter of Iṭṭāzud Dawla Hafīṣ Muhammad Naṣīr Khān by his first wife and had children.

The third son was Muhammad Anṣārullāh. As his mother passed away after his birth the child was brought up by Hurmatun nisa Bēgam, mother of Khān-i-Ālam Khān Bahadur Muhammad Anṣārullah was married, after the death of his father during the regency of Nawwāb Aḡīm Jāh Bahādur, to the daughter of Abdu'l Hayy Khān Natthumiyān. She had no children. He came under the influence of a *murshīd* and donned the dress of a *faqīr*.

Mumtāz Bēgam the daughter of Abdu'l Qadir Khān Amīrūd Dawla Amīr Jang by Rāhatun nisa Bēgam, was married during the lifetime of her father in the reign of Aḡīmūd Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Walājah III to Sayfud Dawla Bahādur. She became a widow without issue.

Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Amīru'd-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur took a second wife, Ābida Bēgam, daughter of Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur¹, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh III. She gave birth to a son² and a daughter.

The daughter, Āliya Bēgam, became the second wife of Imtiyāzu'd-Dawla Haydar Ḥusayn Khān, son of Tāidu'd-Dīn Akbar.

Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Amīrud-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur had by his *ḥaram* two sons and a daughter.

The eldest son, Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān, was born before his father was married formally. Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān was married during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and had children. He died in the lifetime of his own father.

The second son, Ḥaydar Ālī and the daughter, the *allātī* sister of Ḥaydar Ālī, are still unmarried.

They are under the care of Tāidu'd-Dīn Akbar.

Mehrun-nisā, the *nikāh* wife of Amīru'd-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur had no children.

Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Amīru'd-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur died on the 29th of Dhū'l-hajj, 12—A H.

The fourth son of Ghulām Pīr Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II by Karīmu'n-nisā Bēgam, was Abdu'l Wālī Khān. He was styled *I'tisāmu'd-Dawla Haybat Jang*. He was given in marriage to the second daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and had children. He passed away on the 17th of Rabī'u'l-awwal, 12—A H.

Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, son of Abdu'l-Wālī Khān, had children by wives, *nikāh* wives, and women by *muta'* marriage and women kept in *haram*.

(1) He is a Mughal prince. See p 48 in this book.

(2) Details about this son are not given by the author.

He was married formally during the reign of 'Umdatul Umara Bahādur Nawwab Walājah II,¹ to Zubayda Khānam known as Naz Banū. The bride belonged to a noble family but was a stranger to Madras. The mother of Majdūd Dawla Bahadur had brought her up from her childhood and gave her in marriage to her own son.

Zubayda Khānam gave birth to four sons and four daughters. Two sons and two daughters died in childhood.

Muhammad Husaynūd Dīn, one of her two surviving sons, was honoured with the title *Shahriyārul Mulk Muhammad Husaynūd Dīn Khān Bahādur* by Azīnūd Dawla Bahādur Nawwab Walājah III. He was married to Husaynī Begam daughter of Ra'īsul Umarā Bahadur by his wife Mayja Khānam and had children.

Sirājūd Dīn the other son was honoured with the title *Mumtāzūd Dawla Muhammad Sirājūd Dīn Khān* by Nawwab Walājah III. He was married to Gorī Bī younger daughter of Nāṣirūd Dawla Muḥammad Habī bullāh Khan by his wife Ṣafīyya Khānam. Both the brothers went with their family on a pilgrimage to Karbalā along with Ra'īsul Umarā Bahādur. All died of plague except an young child Mumtāzūd Dawla, who is now brought up by Ghulam Muḥammad Khan.

(1) For an account of the marriage of Majdūd Dawla Bahādur. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic* Part III pp 78-79

Tāhiru'n-nisā Bēgam and Munīru'n-nisā Bēgam, the twin daughters of Zubayda Khānam, were married during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and in the lifetime of their grandmother to Qiyāmu'd-Dawla and Qamaru'd-Dawla respectively, sons of Sayfu'd-Dawla Bahādur. They were blest with children.

Jānī Bēgam, daughter of Jukku Miyān, who was brought up from her childhood by the mother of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur was taken in marriage secretly by Majdu'd-Dawla even during the lifetime of his wife and left in charge of his son. Jānī Bēgam died within a year after protracted illness. She had no issue. After some time the wife of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur also died.

Then Majdu'd-Dawla was permitted by his noble mother to marry Ḥusaynī Bēgam, grand-daughter of Wajhu'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān. She had two sons and two daughters.

The sons Muhammad Walīullāh Ahmad, and Nabīullāh Ahmad, and the daughters Azīma Bēgam, and Ghanīu'n-nisā Bēgam, are under the protection of Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā.

Fayzu'n-nisā was the *mkāh* wife of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur even in the lifetime of his mother. He was very affectionate to her. She gave birth to eight sons and two daughters.

The first son, Muḥammad Ni'matullāh, was married after the death of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur to the daughter of Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk by his *mkāh* wife. Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk also got for him the title Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur from 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent. He became

a distinguished man by his association with his father in law. He had many children.

The second son Ahmadullāh, was married to the daughter of Qawī Jang.

The other six sons are Ghulām Muhammad Baqir, Ghulām Hasan Mūsā Rīzā, Ghulām Alī Abdūl Āzīm, Ghulām Muhammad Maḡhar, Ghulām Alī Husayn Rīzā, and Ghulām Muḡammad Mahdī.

The first daughter Ghālibū'n nisā Bēgam was given in marriage to the son of Qawī Jang Bahādur. The second daughter Ghāfūru'n nisā Bēgam is not yet married.

Majdud Dawla Bahādur had a daughter and two sons by Halimūn nisā, his wife by *muta* marriage.

The daughter Rābi'a Begam known as Amīr Bēgam was brought up from her childhood by Muḡammadi Begam her aunt and the wife of this humble person. Rābi'a Begam was married to Ghulam Ahmad Khan Bahadur the *ullāhī* brother of the author of this book. She was blest with children. The sons, Ghulām Haydar, and Ghulam Ṣafdar are unmarried.

Majdu'd Dawla Bahadur had a son Raḡimū'd Dīn by Gul Bānū, the *ḡaram*. She passed away after the birth of that child. Nawwāb Husamul Mulk Bahādur took care of the child after the demise of the mother of Majdu'd Dawla Bahadur. After some time the child passed away.

Majdu'd Dawla Bahadur had two daughters by Khurshīd Bānū, the *ḡaram*.

The first daughter Sājida Bēgam was married to the son of Nawwāb Sayfu'l Mulk Bahādur by *ḡaram*. She became a widow without issue.

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF KHAYRU'D-DIN KHAN II

The second daughter, Bakhshī Bēgam, was married to Muhammad 'Ināyatullāh, son of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf Khān, younger brother of Mustaqīm Jang and had children.

Wālā Ḥusayn, Ghulām Walī Ḥasan, Ghulām Saʿīd Muhammad, Amīnullāh and Muhammad Ja'far, these five sons of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur were born to other *harams*.

Of these, Ghulām Saʿīd Muhammad was brought up for some time by Sayyīd Murtaẓā Husaynī, son of Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Khān. After the demise of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur he came to the house of his mother.

Amīnullāh was brought up by Ḥusaynī Bēgam, the *mkāḥ* wife of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur. After he attained his majority he came to the house of his senior brother.

Muhammad Ja'far died after the demise of his father.

Sārā Bēgam was another daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur by *ḥaram*. She was brought up by Sājida Bēgam, her sister.

The other *harams* have no issue. They are getting their share of maintenance allowance from the funds paid to Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur.

Maqbūlu'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur by his wife, was married to Naṣību'd-Dawla Muhammadī Miyān. The grandmother of Maqbūlu'n-nisā brought up a girl who belonged to a noble family, gave her the name *Zīnatu'n-nisā* and presented her to Maqbūlu'n-nisā. She tended her very affectionately as her own daughter. This *Zīnatu'n-nisā* was married in 1252 A.H. to Ṣafīu'd-Dīn, son of Muhammad Kamālu'd-Dīn, the adopted son of Ḥakīm Aḥmad Khān.

CH. 4.—CHILDREN OF IFTIKHĀRU'D-DAWLA BAHĀDUR

daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. Details about his children are already related.

Children of Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Hāfiz Muhammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām Jang by his nikāh wives and ḥarams

Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur had four *nikāh* wives : Sakīna Bī, daughter of Walī Muḥammad Khān; Khurshīdu'n-nisā, daughter of Āqā 'Abdu'l-'Alī of Machhlibandar (Masulipatam); Fāṭima Khānam, daughter of Dalīl Khān the Afghān; 'Izzatu'n-nisā, the adopted daughter of Shaykh Ahmad of Chennapattan (Madras).

During the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, Khayru'n-nisā became the *nikāh* wife of Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur.

Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur had three *ḥarams*.

Sakīna Bī the *nikāh* wife had no issue

Khurshīdu'n-nisā, the second *nikāh* wife, had a daughter and a son. The daughter was married to Ghulām Nabī Khān, son of Zuhūrullāh Khān. She died of child-birth. The son, Muhammad Khayru'd-Dīn died within forty days of his mother's death.

Fāṭima Khānam, the third *nikāh* wife, had no issue. She died during the lifetime of her husband.

'Izzatu'n-nisā, the fourth *nikāh* wife, had five daughters. The first daughter, Jahāndār Bēgam, was married to Ghulām Muḥammad Mūsā Khān, the *ḥallātī* brother of Sayfu'd-Dawla. She had children. The second daughter, Iftikhārū'n-nisā, was married to Qādir 'Alī Khān Khādū Miyān, the *ḥallātī* brother of Murād 'Alī Khān. She had children. The third daughter, Zamāniya Bēgam, was married to Mīr Muhammad Fakhrū'd-Dīn Khān, brother-in-law of Ashrafu'l-Mulk. She had children and later became a widow. The fourth daughter, Ashrafu'n-nisā, and the fifth daughter, Jahāniya Bēgam, were married after the death of their father. Ashrafu'n-nisā was married

Bahadur, vakīl of the *ḡāba* of Muḥammadpur (Arcot)

The fifth son of Khayrūd Dīn Khān by Karīmūn-nisā Begam was Muḥammad Jan ī Jahān Khān Bahadur Sardārūd Dawla. He was married to Hurmatūn-nisā Begam daughter of Ihsānullāh Khān during the lifetime of his own mother. He had two sons, Jan ī Ālam Khān Bahādur, and Khān ī Ālam Khān Bahadur.

Jan ī Ālam Khān Bahādur was married to Munawwar Begam, daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhuī Mulk Dīlēr Jang Bahādur. A son, Āzīzūd Dawla, was born. Jan ī Ālam passed away after some years.

Khān ī Ālam Khān Bahādur was married to Ṣāliḡa Bēgam, during the reign of Āzīmūd Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Walajah III. He had a daughter and two sons.

The daughter Dulhan Bēgam was married to Āzīm Jah Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent.

Khayrūd Dīn Khān the eldest son of Khān ī Ālam Khān was married to Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Raḥmatūn nisā Bēgam.

Jan ī-Jahan Khān the second son is unmarried.

Details about other children of Khān ī Ālam Khān Bahādur are not given here.

Khān ī Ālam Khān was versed in all branches of learning and competent to teach all subjects. He was also a *maḥdīyikḡ*, engaged in devotion to Allah night and day.

Muḥammad Jan ī Jahān Khān Bahadur Sardārūd Dawla, died on the 24th of the respectable Muḥarram, 12—A.H.

The sixth son of Khayrūd Dīn Khān by Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam was Iftikhārūd Dawla Hāfiḡ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahadur Ṣamṣām Jang. He was married to the younger

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF IFTIKHĀRU'D-DAWLA BAHĀDUR

daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. Details about his children are already related.

Children of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Hāfiẓ Muhammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang by his nikāh wives and ḥarams

Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur had four *nikāh* wives : Sakīna Bī, daughter of Walī Muhammad Khān, Khurshīdu'n-nisā, daughter of Āqā 'Abdu'l-'Alī of Machhlībandar (Masulīpatam), Fāṭima Khānam, daughter of Dalīl Khān the Afghān; 'Izzatu'n-nisā, the adopted daughter of Shaykh Ahmad of Chennapattan (Madras).

During the reign of Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, Khayru'n-nisā became the *nikāh* wife of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur.

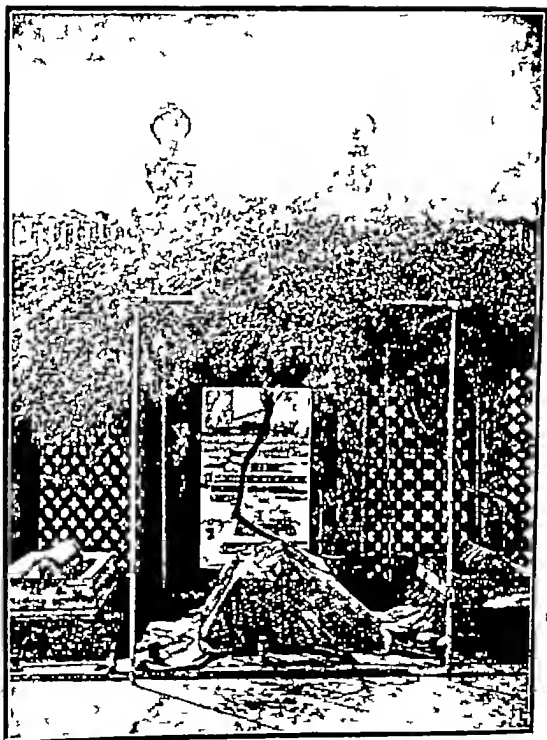
Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur had three *ḥarams*.

Sakīna Bī the *nikāh* wife had no issue.

Khurshīdu'n-nisā, the second *nikāh* wife, had a daughter and a son. The daughter was married to Ghulām Nabī Khān, son of Zuhūrullāh Khān. She died of child-birth. The son, Muhammad Khayru'd-Dīn died within forty days of his mother's death.

Fāṭima Khānam, the third *nikāh* wife, had no issue. She died during the lifetime of her husband.

'Izzatu'n-nisā, the fourth *nikāh* wife, had five daughters. The first daughter, Jahāndār Bēgam, was married to Ghulām Muhammad Mūsā Khān, the *ullātī* brother of Sayfu'd-Dawla. She had children. The second daughter, Iftikhāru'n-nisā, was married to Qādir 'Alī Khān Khādū Miyān, the *ullātī* brother of Murād 'Alī Khān. She had children. The third daughter, Zamāniya Bēgam, was married to Mīr Muhammad Fakhrū'd-Dīn Khān, brother-in-law of Ashrafu'l-Mulk. She had children and later became a widow. The fourth daughter, Ashrafu'n-nisā, and the fifth daughter, Jahāniya Bēgam, were married after the death of their father. Ashrafu'n-nisā was married



- 1 The tomb of Nawwāb Anwarud Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahid in Haydarabād
(Father of Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.).
2. The tomb of Shāh Walīullāh Shāhib, the *murshid* of the Nawwāb Shahid.
The tombs on either end are those of the relatives of the *murshid*

EPILOGUE.

Plentiful praise be to Allāh

Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Sirāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, the kind and benevolent Regent, ordered me to compile an account of the period of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. In obedience to the command, all particulars dating from the last days of Muhammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I to the end of the period of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, a summary of facts relating to the reigns of Āzimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, the coronation of Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V, and the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur together with the genealogy of the family of Anwar were collected mostly from *Anwarnāma*, *Tūzak-ı-Wālājāhī*, *Tadhkirat-ul-Ansāb* and other books, and brought into this volume, while a number of other details were added to it from my memory.

I give thanks to Heaven that this great work is finished during the lifetime of this humble servant.

In the past, during the days of Muhammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī, the tutor to the royal princes, in accordance with the orders of the prince 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, compiled a narrative in verse recording all the facts in the periods of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahīd and Nawwāb Wālājāh I. He gave the name *Anwarnāma* to his book and submitted it to the prince 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur.

The prince went through it and congratulated Mīr Abjadī on the completion of his work. Then he said to him:

“Keep this book with you for the present. The Nawwāb my father, has fixed the 14th of Shawwāl, for weighing himself out in the balance. It is necessary that you come with the book on that date to the big diwān khāna in the afternoon. I shall also be present then and bring the book to the notice of the Nawwāb. You must offer this book as nadhr to the Nawwāb after the weighing ceremony is finished.”

Mir Abjadī was present at the diwān khāna as per instructions of the prince, and offered the Nawwāb the *Antwar-nāma* after completion of the weighing ceremony.

The Nawwāb smiled sweetly and accepted the nadhr of Mir Abjadī. He glanced over the book, handed it over to Hashmat Jang Nurūd Dīn Muhammad Khān Bahādur and said to him

“You are well acquainted with the art and composition of poetry and know how to recite it. You may now read some verses from the *Muqaddima*.”

After Hashmat Jang read out some verses, Nawwāb Walajāh I addressed the prince ‘Umdatul Umarā Bahādur, Mubārīz Jang and Sālār Jang as follows

“Mir Isma‘īl Khān Abjadī had taken pains to compile this work. I have the desire of honouring him with the presents of a khil‘at-i mahmūdī from my wardrobe, and a dushālā, and weighing him out along with his book, in silver.

Then he ordered ‘Alī Dīl Khān, the dārughā of the malbās khāna, to get ready a khil‘at-i mahmūdī and a dushālā, to dress him up in new costumes and weigh him out with the book in silver. ‘Alī Dīl Khān carried out the orders of the Nawwāb.

Then the Nawwāb conferred upon Mir Abjadī the title *Bahādur*.

As Mir Abjadī was emaciated with old age the weight of silver amassed in the scales was not to his heart’s content. Next day, he went early in the morning to Kuhna-bāgh, later on

EPILOGUE

known as Muhammad-bāgh, and submitted thus to the prince 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur.

"If this old man had previous knowledge of the manner of the grant of gift by the Nawwāb, he would have presented himself at the *darbār* with heavy stones hidden under his clothes. That is just it. May Allāh keep the Nawwāb and the prince safe for many years! Great gifts are in store for me."

On listening to Mīr Abjadī, the prince laughed loudly and said to him:

"Don't give way to anxiety. To-morrow afternoon, I shall, with the help of God, tell everything to the Nawwāb and arrange to invite you to the *darbār*. It is left to you to succeed in your aim by making proper use of your wits."

Next day Mīr Abjadī was invited to the *darbār*. On that day he was sparkling with wit when he represented the facts to Nawwāb ṣāhib. The Nawwāb was very kind to him. He presented him again with silver equal to his weight, and a green *pālkī* with accessories. The Nawwāb also raised his salary from sixty rupees to one hundred and five rupees per month.

During the days of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur collected materials for preparing a history of the periods of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Nawwāb Wālājāh II, with particulars of their wives and children, got a volume written by Munshī Muhammad Burhān Khān Hāndī, in conformity with the beauty of form and literary style, and gave it the name *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī*. But the book was completed after the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. If it had been finished during his reign, it would have fetched large presents. Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur was looking forward to prosperous times when he could present Munshī Burhān with suitable gifts and looked after the Munshī throughout his lifetime.

With the help of God, the compilation of *Sawānshāhī Mumtāz* that has been undertaken by me in obedience to the command of Nawwab Āzīm Jāh Sīrājūl Umarā Bahādur, is now finished. I expect from the kind and benevolent Nawwāb suitable gifts which would bring relief to me and *manṣab* and *marātib* which would exalt me in rank enjoyed by my forefathers. Thus I look forward to spend my remaining days in all comforts and happiness under the protection of the gracious and gentle Nawwāb.

Mīr Khurshīd Hasan Mūsawī, in accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb-Regent, took great pains to correct the language of the book *Sawānshāhī Mumtāz*.

Although the book was completed in 1250 A H a fair copy of it could not be got ready till 27th Dhūl ḥajja, 1252 A H.

Mīr Khurshīd Hasan Musawī prepared a summary of this book in a beautiful style with a view to present it to the Nawwāb-Regent.

APPENDIX A.

THE SERINGAPATAM CORRESPONDENCE

Copy of such parts of the CORRESPONDENCE discovered in the Palace at Seringapatam, and alluded to in the Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St George to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 3rd August, 1801, as are not included in the Appendix to the Declaration of the Governor of Fort St George, dated 31st July, 1801.

Translation of a LETTER from Mohummud Osmaun, Vakeel at Madras, to Hyder Ally Khaun, dated 6th of Zykeed 1186, answering to the 30th January, 1773

“Agreeably to your orders, I had an audience of the Nabob, at which, after expressing in strong terms the friendship that subsisted between us, I requested the passport for the arms. Immediately on hearing these expressions of friendship, his Highness acquiesced in my demand of the passport, and taking me by the hand, led me to the top of the house, where there was a room, from whence the beautiful prospect of the Sea, Fort St. George, etc, like a plain appearing to our view, he remarked what a beautiful spot it was, and added, May Almighty God soon produce a cause, from which the Nabob Hyder Ally Khaun and I shall be enabled here to sit and enjoy ourselves together.” He proceeded in these words: “The Nabob Hyder Ally Khaun, inattentive to the value of my friendship, has always considered me separate from himself, whilst I have ever considered us as one. I may say indeed that I look on his exis-

tence as my own flesh and skin, and it is incumbent upon him to do the same. It is necessary that a friendship should subsist between us so firm, as that both our Countries also should be one, that if any enemy (which God prevent) should burn one of his villages I ought to feel as if one of my own was consumed, and were one of mine to be destroyed by the fire of an enemy, he ought to feel as if one of his were destroyed' Again he observed Your Master may make many friends, and doubtless will but such a friend as I am he never can acquire, when friendship shall be established between us, then it will be seen what the friendship of friends is. I am that friend, who if he (which God prevent) should require the sacrifice of my child, as a means of promoting his prosperity and dominion, would, looking upon this as the greatest blessing in the world most willingly deliver my offspring up to him. It is my wish to establish such a friendship with your Master, that our children after us may be united in the bonds of affection and of love. Let us therefore, during this transitory life, be friendly and united and render good offices to each other, since in the next no person can be connected with another, it is indeed singularly happy that Almighty God has been so bounteous to each as that we want for nothing else than friendship and affection it is incumbent upon us mutually to transmit to one another presents and rarities etc. which God has bestowed on both which amongst friends is a source of satisfaction a means of overawing others, and in every respect seemly If therefore any thing in your Master's country should be wished or required by me, let me take it without any apology and in like manner should he want any thing from mine, let him send for it without excuse this is the mode in which the Princes of former times displayed their friendship for each other and in the present times it is the same. Your slave (Mohummud Osmaun) upon hearing all these friendly expressions, made the two following remarks Almighty God has bestowed upon your Highness (the Nabob) a general knowledge of every matter and

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a clear understanding. My Master (Hyder Ally) contemplating by anticipation from his own great foresight all that I have now heard, and wishing to promote a unity with you, addressed to you a Letter; wherefore did your Highness not write him in return?". He answered "I am convinced that your Master wrote me that Letter of condolence in friendship; but while I cherished in my mind his friendly sentiments, I judged it unprosperous and improper, as a beginning of friendship, to reply to a Letter of condolence, and therefore failed to write to him; but should he wish in future to maintain a correspondence with me, I will look upon him, and address him as a King." My second observation was as follows. "Almighty God has made your Highness powerful and great. The Mahrattas you know to be evil-minded and wickedly disposed, during three years they were at war with my Master, and overran and destroyed his Country to the value of many crores. Notwithstanding his repeated demands of assistance from you, with an offer of paying the expenses of the troops, how did you continue inattentive to his wish, and an inactive spectator? It would appear then, that you were unwilling to have him for a neighbour (or a friend) and preferred the neighbourhood or friendship of the Mahrattas." He replied: "The sentiments you express are precisely my own. May the Almighty destroy and root out the Mahrattas! It is with this object in view, that I am anxious to establish an alliance with your Master, that in future whatever we may do may be concerted and engaged in with one heart and tongue, whether to make war or peace, because hitherto he has not, in the first instance, made application to me, nor communicated with me, upon any subject. When he attacked the Europeans, and made peace with the English, who were my servants, it depended upon my consent to conclude it. I was the Prince and owner of the country, and was at no great distance from the scene; but not a word, not a sentence, not even a man, did he think proper to send to me. Hence I

could not but conclude that he wished not to be in unity and friendship with me and consequently what ought I to have to do with his other wars and pacifications. Had your Master maintained friendship and correspondence with me and had I then neglected to fulfil my obligations and remained an inactive spectator, these might be grounds for complaint, but let us totally forget the past, and if the Nabob Hyder Ally Khaun should conceive that nothing or no advantage is to be gained from my friendship let him reflect that the most trifling degree of its advantage is this, that if every year whatever number of arms he may be able to purchase and carry away from this quarter he may do so without molestation, it is no less a privilege than what he possesses in his own Country. In the present instance, when you applied for a passport to the Governor, you knew the answer he gave he does not choose to comply with your request. Upon a principle of foresight, I consider your Master's friendship as paramount to every thing, it is incumbent likewise on your Master to do the same by me and continue firm in his friendship, for our two hearts are in reality one.

His Highness further added that an odd accident had occurred and told me laughing at the same time, that when your Highness came down upon the English, he was in this very Garden where we were, and sending answers to the Letters which he received that the People told him. To-day the English Gentlemen are embarking upon a pilgrimage. Here the conversation broke up, and his Highness desired me to come to-morrow for the dustuck.

P.S.—In your former Letter to the Nabob your address was such as to produce an observation from him, that people in general write thus to their servants. It will be necessary therefore to consider this in future, that no offence may be taken. His Highness gave me an English pocket-book, as a

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present for you, which I enclose. If you send him something handsome in exchange, I think it would be proper.

(A true translation)

(Signed) N.B EDMONSTONE,
Persian Translator to the Government.

*Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun
to the Nawaub Walajah Appendix No VIII to the
Madras Governors' Declaration of 31st July, 1801
A.D*

In the name of the most merciful God! After reiterated praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who assembled the body of Mussalmans under the banners of Mahomed, and lighted the torch of mutual attachment among them, and praise to the Chosen of Prophets, who promulgated the saying, "all Mussalmans are brothers," and took upon himself the task of intercession for all Believers, and after intimating my desire of being personally known to your Highness, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I have the honour to represent that the receipt of your Highness' kind Letter after so long a lapse of time—(according to the saying, "all things depend upon the appointed season")—rejoiced me extremely, and your Highness's obliging recollection of me excited my acknowledgments, and I return thanks to Almighty Providence for the joyful news of the welfare of the Well-wisher of mankind (meaning the Nawaub himself), my delaying to address your Highness has been owing to my not having been favoured with any Letters from your Highness. By the grace of God! your Highness is pre-eminent, characterized for all praise-worthy qualities, and acquainted with all affairs It is probable that your Highness's delay in writing to me may have been occasioned by the particular circumstances of the times, and in consequence I also have delayed to write, else I should have written to you a hundred times Now by the receipt of your

Highness's Letter, and the account of your Highness's friendship and attachment, which I have had from the verbal communication of the high in rank the *Distinguished in Friendship* the trusty I am certain that (according to the words of the Prophet, the union of the Mussalmans is as that of the soul with the body) that warmth of attachment, original affection implanted among Mussalmans exists between us. My hope from Almighty God and my confidence in the Prophet, which is well known to all Mussalmans, all the faithful will exert themselves with heart and soul in maintaining and rendering permanent the religion of Mahomed upon your Highness who is one of the heads of the Faith this is an absolute duty and I am confident that your Highness will by all means be constantly satisfied that you will shew that kindness which is becoming your exalted station towards my two Sons your guests and who are as your own I hope that regarding me inwardly and as your well wisher and that of all Mussalmans you will continue to rejoice me by Letters, you will learn my Father's sentiments from the representations of the high in rank the *Distinguished in Friendship*

Dated 11th of Takre of the year Sikir 1220 from the tenth of Mahomed (corresponding with the 29th of November 1792)

(A true translation)

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE,
&c. &c.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Ali Khan and Ali Rezza Khan to Tippoo Sultaun dated the 16th of Jaffree of the year Sehsr 1220 A N Mahomed (answering to about 4th August 1792) Appendix No IV of the Madras Governors' Declaration

On the 8th Tehejeh (29th July 1792) the Nabob Walajah sent a Message to us by Mahomed Abdoolla Khan that the following day being that preceding the Eed he would, if we

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desired it, pay a visit to the Princes, as he was very anxious to see his Sons (as he called them) In reply, we begged he would give our respects, and represent to his Highness, that the houses of the Princes, and they themselves, were his own, and that the Princes were his guests, that he was their Superior, and his Company there would afford them much happiness, but that, if he wished it, we ourselves would most readily attend him Accordingly at one pas of the following day (about 9 o'clock) Walajah, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah and Hussein Newauz Khan, paid a visit to the Princes, and taking them upon his knees for about two hours, blessed them, and said, "May God long and permanently preserve the shadow of Tippoo Sultaun extended over you and me, since in this age the preservation of Religion depends upon him alone I have passed my eightieth year, and in that time many are the things I have seen and done, and experienced What is passed is passed, and God only knows what futurity may bring to light At present the maintenance of Religion rests with Tippoo Sultaun, and may God preserve and keep him victorious and triumphant! I do not say this merely in your presence, but I say it, taking to witness Him who knows all that is hidden. Night and day, after the prayers of the day, and on Friday after public devotion, I offer up my prayers (meaning for Tippoo Sultaun) and require the people also to do the same" His Highness spoke to us also in terms of great warmth and friendship, and after sitting two hours went away As Walajah had paid a visit to the Princes, it became necessary that they should return it, and consequently they waited upon him the next day, which was the Eedoo Zoha (or Feast of the Camel); the Nawaub, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah and the other Sirdars, came out to meet them as on the feast day, and having assisted the Princes in alighting from their palanquins, took them within the house, where he repeatedly caressed them both, and said—"God preserve the Sultaun in safety, for through him alone these rituals and observances of the faith (alluding probably to

the Eed) yet remain' He then observed to us—'In my first conversation with you, I spoke to you upon the subject of establishing a friendship and harmony between me and Tippoo Sultaun. Have you intimated it to him and have you received a favourable answer? We replied that we had set forth to your Majesty word for word, the friendly sentiments his Highness had expressed and that your Majesty had written in reply, that friendship union, and brotherly regard had from the beginning been established among the professors of Islamism, as was evinced by the testimony of the holy book agreeably to the prescriptions of which your Majesty wished that cordial friendship and attachment should without prejudice or partiality be established between the followers of the faith as the means of supporting the religion of Mahomed And that your Majesty added — God preserve the Nawaub Walajah who is a Prince, and one of the Leaders of the Faithful and a Pillar of the Faith —At the term a Pillar of the Faith the Nawaub could not suppress his tears and said, I am what I know myself to be. Tell the Sultaun that *he* is the Pillar of the Faith, and may God preserve him and grant him a long life, since I and all Mussalmen derive support from him for otherwise the state of affairs here is evident. That which is evident does not require explanation' We also in conformity to your Majesty's commands mentioned to his Highness in a becoming and suitable manner whatever there was to state upon the subject of friendship and attachment. His Highness replied —' In consideration of the complexion of the times the state of which is manifest, and that the support of the Religion of Mahomed in this Country entirely depends upon the Sultann my nightly and daily prayer is offered up for his good He then said to the Princes Oh! my Sons! if my life and property can be of any service to you God is witness that I will not refuse them to you He then gave orders to the superintendent of the gardens to carry every day fruits and flowers to the Princes before his (the

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Nabob's) own children; and said to us—"You are not acquainted with the state and order of affairs here Consider me from my heart your well-wisher and sincere friend, and at all times be assured, that in whatever I may be able to effect your benefit, either by word or deed, I will not decline my exertions What I said and wrote to his Lordship upon the subject of making peace, God well knows who was then or is now desirous of it. His Lordship, however, possessed uncontrolled authority, was a man of wisdom, and listened to the advice of others and my observations made an impression upon him. God preserve you and me from the wicked designs of others." Major Doveton and another Officer, being of the party, his Highness appealed to them, observing, that they had been present at the time, and could speak to the truth or falsity of what he said Major Doveton replied that it was very true; and that several English gentlemen were consequently much displeased with his Highness That one day, when his Highness had assembled all the gentlemen, under pretence of giving them an entertainment, but really for the above purpose, and had accordingly suggested pacific measures, the expediency of which he urged in a thousand ways, they were so displeased that they went away without partaking of the entertainment, nay, that to their animosity might be attributed the assumption of His Highness's country. That when the orders were received from the King of England to restore the country, they framed the pretence among themselves that his Highness was too much attached to Tippoo Sultaun, and that the restitution of his Country would consequently be an impolitic measure; but his Lordship maintained his opinion singly, and, disregarding the animosity of all the others against his Highness, delivered to him (his Highness) the Country, agreeably to the directions of his Majesty "

(A true translation)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

&c &c.

*Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultawn
to Omdut ul Omrah the Nabob of the Carnatic
Appendix No IX*

After reiterating praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty who hath adorned the multitude of the professors of Islamism with the gem of Religion, and lighted the torch of friendship for each other in the region of the heart and endless thanks worthy of the last of the Messengers of God (Mahomed) who with his prophetic tongue spoke this divine saying that all Mussulmans are brothers and who was pleased to take upon himself the task of intercession for all Believers, and after intimating my desire of personal communication, and which as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I set forth my object. By the grace of God the most sincere attachment and perfect unanimity have from the beginning been established among the Believers of the enlightened doctrine of Mahomed but every event has its proper season, and hence no opportunity has yet offered for the external demonstration of our mutual regard. Now however the receipt of your kind letter replete with the friendly sentiments with which our hearts are mutually impressed had doubly added to my sincere attachment and cordial regard when I learnt also from the intimation of the high in rank, the *Distinguished in Friendship* the trusty of your great and noble qualities, and the sincere friendship and cordiality you entertain towards me, my happiness was greater than language can adequately express may God realize this source of happiness that is to say, that perfect attachment and union among the Followers of Islaum, which is the greatest gift of the Almighty and than which nothing is more essential to the temporal and eternal interests of mankind. May God render it attainable, and may he preserve us firm in the faith of Mahomed the boundless benefits resulting from which will by the divine grace be manifested

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I am confident that you will direct your attention to the adjustment of affairs between me and the *Well-wisher of Mankind*, who is the chief and principal of the professors of Islamism; and that deeming me from my heart your well wisher, you will always keep me in your recollection by your friendly Letters, all other particulars may be made known to you from the representations of the high in rank.

May prosperity and happiness attend you!

Dated the 15th of the Zakru of the year Schir 1220 (answering to the 2nd November, 1792).

(A true translation)

(Signed) N. B EDMONSTONE,
&c. &c.

Extract of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Alli Rezza Khan and Gholaum Alli Khan; dated at Seringapatam, the 16th of Hejre, of the year Schir 1220 from the Birth of Mahomed. Appendix No V

I have received and understood the contents of your Arzee, intimating the distinguished kindness and regard with which the Nawaub Walajah treats my Sons, and the sincere friendship which he entertains towards me. It is evident that the Nawaub is a Pillar of the Mahomedan Religion, the Elect of the Almighty, a man of dignity and worldly experience; whatever favour and attention he may shew towards my Sons, who are his guests, and you, I shall assuredly consider as a kindness conferred upon myself. This circumstance has afforded me much pleasure.

My hopes from Almighty God and his Divine Messenger are, that the Nawaub will do whatever may tend to the support of the Religion of Mahomed, and that he will give the necessary attention to this point. You will mention to him that he must consider my Sons as his own; that in conformity to the command of God and the Prophet, the improvement of friendship among the professors of Islamism will be beneficial

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to various concerns both spiritual and temporal and that, deeming me attached to our common religion and to his Highness's person, he will direct his attention accordingly, you will also state to the Nawaub the other points of friendship, which you have repeatedly heard from my mouth.

(A true translation)

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c

No VI

KEY to a CYPHER found among the Records at Seringapatam and received at Calcutta on the 2nd of March 1880 Appendix No VI

Oh God, glorious and exalted! Oh Prophet of God! May the Blessing of the Lord be upon him Religion. Bishteh.

The Nabob Walajah,
the well-wisher of
Alankind

The Nabob Tippoo
Sultaun the Defen-
der or Protector of
the Faith.

The English Newcom-
ers

All Rezza, *the Distin-*
guished in Friend-
ship

Nothing or Nonentity
Nizam ul Dowlah

The Mean or Despi-
cable The Mahrattas.

The Power of God
A Saddle

The Victorious, *A*
Scymeter

A Flower A Present.

Hearts,
Sons

A State or Dominion,
A Ring

The Restorer of the
Faith, Omdut ul
Omrah.

The Faith of Religion
Gholam All Khan.

Nawaub Saheb, *The*
Spring a Flower
Garden.

A Letter an Interview
Benevolent the
Hand A Heart, A
Seal.

The Writing of Omdut ul Omrah.

(A true translation)

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

These words are written by one of Tippoo Sultaun's Moonshees.

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Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan to Tippoo Sultaun. Appendix No VII

The departure of Alli Rezza Khan at this time, in conformity to the orders of the presence, is very expedient, especially for the purpose of bringing to a favourable issue the propositions of Lord Cornwallis, and the *Well-wisher of Mankind* (The designation of the Nabob Walajah in the Cypher) which is most ardently to be wished

There are many points which cannot be committed to paper, and can only be communicated in person, at this time the friendship and goodwill of both Sirdars is from God, and the royal auspices; the particulars of this summary, which is an unlooked-for-good, will be made known to your Majesty by the verbal representations of Alli Rezza, who attends the Presence especially for that purpose, although it is contrary to the rules of respect to presume to give an opinion upon this subject, yet I am emboldened by my long attachment and my sense of the duty I owe your Majesty, when your Majesty shall have maturely deliberated upon, and fully brought home to your mind the representation of both the Sirdars, from a consideration of the changeableness of the times, your Majesty's agreeing to this affair—(upon the principle recommended in the words of Hafiz of Shiraz, the mercy of God be upon him! With friends, cordiality, with enemies, dissimulation) seems highly expedient and advantageous to your Majesty's interests.

(A true translation)

(Signed) N B. EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan to Tippoo Sultaun (without date) Appendix No. X.

On the second of Rehmany of the year Sehir 1200, Mohummudee (answering to about the 14th January, 1793) the

Nabob Walajah sent a message to Khadar Nawaz Khan to this effect,—Whatever animosity and estrangement formerly existed between us (meaning himself and Tippoo Sultaun) are now thank God completely removed. If the slightest trace of them remain in my heart, I am no Mussulman nay of another sect, and on the part of the Hyderree Sircar also I am confident the same friendly sentiments are entertained. God knows, and the Prophet is witness on the most deliberate reflection and deep consideration I see no one Sirdar who has at heart the interests of the true Faith except Tippoo Sultaun and after him this sinner (of whom the same may be said in some degree). In the second place the sight of the Princes gives new force to the attachment and regard that my heart feels indeed it is superfluous to express this hence I offer up my most earnest prayers to God for the welfare of the Sultaun and the prosperity of the affairs of the Hyderree Sircar. From the impulse of these sentiments it is requisite that I should communicate some articles of intelligence, which are as follows. I have always kept stationed in Bengal several persons of the higher class, for the purpose of collecting and transmitting secret intelligence daily. In the Paper of Intelligence which came on the 25th of Rubuossaunee 1207 (10th December 1793) it is stated that Sir Charles Malet, the English Resident at Poonah, has written to Lord Cornwallis that numerous messengers from the Khodadad Sircar daily pass to and fro between Seringapatam and Poonah whence it would seem that Tippoo Sultaun was endeavouring to form a close connection and alliance with the Poonah Government and through that Government with the Mogul (Nizam Ali Khan) and that deeming this information of importance he had written it to his Lordship. The Members of Council in Bengal on hearing this, are said to have stated their opinion to his Lordship that Tippoo Sultaun was infringing the settlement which had taken place between him and his Lordship and was

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entertaining views of a sinister nature; that, for example, the Sultaun withheld payment of the Kists, as prescribed in the Treaty, and refused to release the European and other Prisoners, subjects of the Company; that this sort of discourse had excited some degree of suspicion, nay even of alarm, in his Lordship's mind. Such is the present state of affairs, what, in the judgment of this well-wisher, now appears expedient is this, in a short time his Lordship will go to Europe, the Princes, please God, will soon return, and the Kists are in a course of payment, after his Lordship's departure the liquidation of the Kists and other points, whatever may be his Highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper, at present it is better to be silent upon every thing, because at this time his Highness's honour would at all events be called in question. When another shall arrive from Europe, the imputation will in every respect and in every measure fall upon him.

(A true translation).

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Allı Khan and Allı Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun, dated 25th Behauree of the year Sehir 1221, A N Mahomed (answering to about the 5th of June 1793) Appendix No XII.

Refuge of the world! yesterday the *Well-wisher of Mankind* sent the following message by Khadar Newaz Khan "At this time a complete rupture has taken place between the English and the French. The story of the King of the French and their domestic commotions are well known. Six or seven European Powers have united for the destruction of the French, and you will soon hear that the whole of the French territory has been divided amongst others. The English (Troops) here at Madras will proceed in a day or two against Pondicherry. Although there is a body of Troops in that

place, yet domestic dissensions have risen to the utmost pitch there and nothing will be done, and the place will at length be taken. My object in mentioning this event is this —The Vakeel of the Ahmedy Sircar, who was at Pondicherry, has lately it seems returned to the presence (Tippoo Sultaun) Please God there is no doubt that the Sultaun keeps in view all the ups and downs of the time. At this time no kind of assistance will be afforded, but out of that friendship which I feel for the Sultaun, I recommend that the Vakeel remain a short time at the presence, and also that epistolary correspondence be discontinued for a short time. Although a friendly connexion has long subsisted with the French, on the part of the Ahmedy Sircar, yet, considering the circumstances of the times, it is not advisable (that is to maintain an epistolary correspondence with the French) should there be any point of urgency to communicate, there is no objection to do it verbally. For God's sake let not the Sultaun ascribe what I say to a wrong motive. I am actuated solely by my good wishes in making this communication. Since the day that a cordial union took place between us, let me be no longer a Mussulman nor a Servant of God if I have not always offered up my prayers for the Sultaun's good, and afterwards for my own. May the Almighty preserve firm and uninjured the Mahomedan Church and the safety of the Sultaun!

(A true translation)

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from official papers on the transactions leading to the accession of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III to the *masnad* of the Carnatic

(1) Report of Messrs Webbe and Close on their negotiations with the Regents and Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur containing.

(a) The propositions of the Regents, and,

(b) The propositions of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur.

(2) Lord Clive's letter to Lord Wellesley dated 27th July, 1801.

(3) Declaration of the Governor of Fort St. George dated 31st July, 1801.

(4) Proceedings on the signing of the Treaty with 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III

(5) Dispatch to the Court of Directors dated 3rd August, 1801

Copy of a REPORT¹ of Messrs Webbe and Close, explanatory of their Proceedings at the Palace of his late Highness the Nabob, in their Interviews or Negotiations with the Regents and Taje ul Omrah

First Day's Proceedings 15th July, 1801

In conformity to your Lordship's instructions, we proceeded to the Palace of Chepauk, having previously caused a message intimating our approach to be communicated, through

(1) Extracted from Papers presented to the House of Commons from the East India Company concerning the late Nabob of the Carnatic—ordered to be printed 21st and 23rd June, 1802, and to be reprinted 26th February, 1807.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

the channel of Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil, to the principal Officers of the late Nabob Omdnt ul Omrah

On our arrival at Chepauk we were received by Nejeeb Khan, Tuckia Ally Khan Kadar Nawas Khan, and Mr Thomas Barrett, who introduced themselves as the principal Officers of the Government of his Highness Omdnt ul Omrah Nejeeb Khan appeared to hold no distinct office, but to have been a companion of the Family since the time of Anwar ud deen Khan and to have been consulted generally on all occasions of interest to the Nabob of the Carnatic. Tuckia Ally Khan was entrusted with the military affairs of the late Nabob Kadir Nawas Khan superintended the general and internal departments of his Highness's Government, but the most important department of his Highness's Government, the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic, had been entrusted to the charge of Mr Barrett As that branch of the Nabob's Government affected more particularly than any other the rights and interests of the Company we judge it to be proper to explain to your Lordship that Mr Barrett is of the lowest tribe of native Portuguese, equally destitute of education, manners, and knowledge.

We enquired whether any particular arrangement had been made by the Nabob for the administration of the affairs of his Government, in the event which had recently occurred and having been informed that an authentic will under his seal and signature, had been left by Omdnt ul Omrah we desired that it might be produced. Nejeeb Khan who directed the conversation made the usual objections, founded on the recency of the Nabob's death on the necessity of allowing a sufficient interval of time for the ceremonies of the occasion and on the decorum of postponing to open the will until the Heir appointed should be at liberty in conformity to the usual practice, to attend to the transaction of public business We replied that the British Government was aware of the prevailing usages

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observed by the professors of the Mahomedan religion on all ordinary occasions of this nature; that your Lordship could have no wish that those usages should be unnecessarily transgressed, but that the affairs of a great Government, on which our request was founded, could not be regulated by the ordinary practice of individual families. Having in consequence been informed that the Nabob had appointed his reputed Son (Tadjul Omrah, commonly called Ally Hussain) to be his sole Heir, we again urged the necessity of producing the will and requested that the young man should be introduced to us. The Khans having retired to consider this demand, we learnt during a desultory conversation with Mr. Barrett, that the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah had become acquainted with the intention of Hussam ul Mulk to employ an armed force at the Palace of Chepauk for the accomplishment of his views, at the expected termination of his Highness's life, that the measure of stationing a body of the Company's troops for the protection of the Family, had in consequence been entirely acceptable to his Highness, and (to use his own figurative expression) that the security, derived from that arrangement, had been the means of prolonging his Highness's life.

The Khans having been joined by Mr Barrett, returned, assenting to our request, and, after a short delay, the young man was introduced with the will in his hand. The will having been opened and read by Kadir Nawas Khan, was found to be an authentic instrument, expressing in clear, distinct, and explicit terms, the will of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that his reputed Son (Ally Hussain) should succeed him in the possession of all his rights, possessions, property, and in the sovereignty¹ of the Carnatic. The will also appointed Mahomed Nejeeb Khan, Salar Jang, and Tuckia Ally Khan, to assist the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah in the administration of his affairs.

(1) The English word 'sovereignty' is used in the will

The will having been read, we excused ourselves to Ally Hussain for an intrusion which although unseasonable was indispensably necessary, and he immediately retired returning expressions of civility

On the departure of Ally Hussain we requested a private conference with the two Khans only who had been appointed by the will of Omdut ul Omrah to assist the counsels of his son. After some preparatory observations on the importance of the subject which we were desirous of discussing and on the consequent necessity of superseding the ordinary forms observed in private families on similar occasions of misfortune, we proceeded, with the concurrence of the Khans to state the nature of the written documents discovered at Seringapatam. Nejeeb Khan expressed the greatest degree of surprize at this communication professed his entire ignorance of the subject, and protested that it was impossible for the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to cherish the intentions imputed to his Highness. Some of the principal documents having been produced Nejeeb Khan asserted that they contained none but expressions of civility and compliment that the Marquis Cornwallis had repeatedly enjoined the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah to cultivate a friendly intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun that the whole tendency of the correspondence produced was directed to that object in conformity to the injunctions of Lord Cornwallis and that the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah had recently addressed himself to Lord Cornwallis on the subject of these communications the particular warmth of the expressions used by Omdut ul Omrah, in his Letter addressed to Gholam Ally Khan on the 14th Mohurru 1209 having been pointed out to Nejeeb Khan he observed that it was nothing more than an expression of civility which might have been used on any ordinary occasion. The copy of the cypher having been produced Nejeeb Khan took the opportunity of saying that the Moonshy of the Nabob was present and could be examined with respect

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to the authenticity of the hand-writing; that although the cypher appeared, as was stated by us, to be a paper of a very secret nature, calculated to provide for the transaction of affairs of great importance, it might have been conveyed into the archives of Tippoo Sultan by the enemies of Omdut ul Omrah; that, upon being furnished with the proofs of the supposed treacherous intercourse between Tippoo Sultan and the family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, such explanations should be afforded, and such answers given, as the different cases might require, and that, the proofs being compared, the Company might form a complete judgment.

This discourse being apparently intended to confound the object of our deputation, we stated to the two Khans that in cases of disputed points between independent powers, neither party could erect itself into a judge of the conduct of the other party; that on those questions an appeal could be made only to the general practice of the Nations of the World, and that such differences could only be decided by the means possessed by each party respectively to provide for its own security, that with respect to the present case, the most abundant proofs were in possession of the British Government of the violation of the alliance between the Company and the late Nabob, and particularly of the express stipulations of the Treaty of 1792, that the British Government, being satisfied of the sufficiency of those proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its Ally but that being prepared to appeal, if necessary, to the established maxims of the public Law of Nations, it had resolved to demand from the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah satisfaction for his violation of the alliance, and security for its rights and interests against the future operation of his Highness's hostile councils; that the indisposition, which had terminated in the death of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, had prevented the execution of the Governor-General's orders for this purpose; that although his

Highness's right to the support and friendship of the Company had been entirely cut off by the violation of the alliance, the British Government being still desirous of preserving the connexion so long subsisting, would be disposed to extend those sentiments to the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah if an adequate security could be established for the rights of the Company in the Carnatic through the channel of an amicable adjustment. The two Khans repeated that they were ignorant of the existence of the supposed secret intercourse between the Nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah and Tippoo Sultan and Nejeeb Khan in particular stated that from the tenor of his intercourse with the Family of the Nabob as well as from the expressions of the will, he did not consider himself at liberty, or in any way authorized to give answer upon so momentous a question without consulting and obtaining the consent of the Family and Ministers of the late Nabob. We proceeded to explain slowly and distinctly to the two Khans the course of reasoning and the propositions contained in the Declaration transmitted from Bengal, which the Khans having heard with great attention, they stated that they distinctly comprehended the object of the Declaration and the force of the reasoning they admitted the conclusions drawn from the facts provided the facts should be true but at the same time strenuously asserted their disbelief of the hostile intercourse with Tippoo Sultan imputed to the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah. After a desultory conversation on this subject, in which the two Khans insisted on the reasonableness of their entering into the defence of Omdut ul Omrah's conduct in regard to the several points stated in the Declaration and in which we repeated the arguments founded on the practice of Nations and on the right of the British Government to provide for the safety of its interests we endeavoured to reduce this very long conference into the result of a single proposition by demanding to know whe-

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ther the Khans, on the part of Ally Hussain, were disposed to an adjustment of the claims of the British Government through the channel of an amicable negotiation.—They professed the greatest degree of respect and attachment to the British Government; stated that they considered themselves and the whole Family to be under its immediate protection, dwelt on the general impossibility of their proceeding by any other than amicable means in the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, or of the existing differences with the British Government, but carefully avoided a direct answer to the proposition we had stated on that subject —The day being far advanced, the Khans took an opportunity of urging the necessity of their attention to the funeral of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and to the preparations of removing the Corpse to Trichinopoly —This plea was urged in so forcible a manner, upon the grounds of public decorum, and of consideration for the feelings of the Family, that we yielded without further discussion to the evident desire of the Khans to conclude the Conference, without giving a positive answer to our proposition —It was agreed, however, that an interview should take place on the evening of the next day, at which the Khans assured us that they would be prepared to give a specific answer to our propositions, after consulting the Family and Ministers of the late Nabob upon the subject of this Conference.

In proceeding to take leave of the Khans, we assured them in the most unequivocal terms, that on the answer which they intended to give to our proposition would depend, whether the British Government would acknowledge the claims of the reputed son of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the support of the Company, or whether the British Government should proceed to take such measures as it might deem to be expedient for the security of its rights and interests in the Carnatic.

*Second Day's Conference**16th July, 1801*

We proceeded to enquire whether the Khans were prepared (according to the result of the Conference of yesterday) to enter into a friendly Negotiation for the establishment of an adequate security for the right and interest of the British Government. The Khans replied that the whole Family of Omdut ul Omrah was under the protection of the British Government, and that it could feel none but friendly dispositions towards the Company at the same time however they persisted in denying the proofs of the violation of the Alliance by Omdut ul Omrah on the foundation of which the demand of the British Government rested and by a strange inconsistency proceeded to enquire the conditions on which we proposed to establish an amicable adjustment of our claims on the Family of the late Nabob

We proceeded accordingly to state to the Khans the inconveniences which had been experienced from the effects of a divided Government the difficulty of applying under such a System, the Resources of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the public Service and the impossibility of introducing a regular form of internal Government until the defects of the existing System should be corrected We then informed the Khans that the only remedy applicable to the errors of the present Government of the Carnatic was, the substitution of one permanent authority in lieu of the fluctuating authority which had hitherto subsisted that the appropriation of the Resources of the Carnatic, during the Government of the Nabob, and under the pressure of actual War, had been found from experience to be incompatible with the objects of the Alliance and therefore the only adequate security for the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic, against the dangers with which they had been menaced was the entire and exclusive Adminis-

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tration of the Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic. We accordingly informed the Khans, that this condition would form the basis of the arrangement which it was our intention to propose to them. Nejeeb Khan observed, that such a proposition was calculated to frustrate the professed object of the arrangement, for if the entire Government of the Carnatic should be transferred to the Company, the station of the Nabobs of the Carnatic would be annihilated.—We replied to the Khans, that the condition now proposed actually existed in the Treaties of 1787 and 1792, and that although the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic had been transferred, under the operation of that condition, to the exclusive Administration of the Company, no doubt was entertained that the rank and dignity of Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, as the Nabobs of the Carnatic, had been preserved—we therefore drew this conclusion, that the rank and dignity of the Nabob of the Carnatic could not be injured by extending the operation of that condition. and that the object of proposing an amicable adjustment, instead of proceeding to exercise the rights acquired by the British Government, was manifestly founded in the desire of preserving to the Family the rank, dignities, and splendour of the Nabobs of the Carnatic.—The Khans admitted this argument to be conclusive, but without coming to any determination on the fundamental proposition stated by us, appeared to be desirous of knowing the general outline of the arrangement, which it was in the contemplation of the British Government to establish. We thought it expedient to satisfy, by describing the principal parts of the Plan intended by your Lordship and by the Governor-General, in the event of an amicable adjustment of affairs. but we apprized the Khans at the same time, that the intended arrangements, with respect to the Family affairs and dependants of Omdut ul Omrah, would be regulated by the acceptance or rejection of the fundamental proposition;

for in the one case the British Government would be at liberty to consult the dictates of moderation liberality, and friendship but in the other case it would be compelled to adopt such measures of precaution for the security of its rights and interests as the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah had justified and as would be rendered necessary by the perseverance of his reputed son in the spirit of those Councils

The Khans entered into a desultory conversation on the long subsisting connection between the Company and the Family of the late Naboh in which they were more desirous of referring the pretensions of Ally Hussain to the stipulations of the Treaty of 1792 than to the actual circumstances which had occurred We thought it therefore not unnecessary to state again that the right of Omdut ul Omrah to the support of the Company was founded on the express Letter of the Treaty of 1792 that the whole spirit of the Alliance having been vitiated previously to the ostensible conclusion of the Treaty of 1792, the Naboh Omdut ul Omrah had by his own conduct, annihilated the rights intended to be conveyed to him by that instrument, that consequently he left his reputed son in his own condition that having placed himself in the relation of a public enemy his reputed son had succeeded to that condition that although the British Government had suspended the exercise of its rights, it acknowledged no other claim on the part of Hussain and that therefore, in admitting him to negotiate upon any Terms, it was actuated by motives of generosity unconnected with any right in the Family of Mahomed Ally to resist its demand for security The Khans made a civil answer to the substance of this communication but at the same time indicated in the strongest manner that they were by no means disposed to accede to the fundamental proposition of the intended arrangement they stated that it was a subject of so much importance as to preclude them from giving an answer without a full consultation with all the branches of the Family they

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therefore requested that they might be permitted to postpone until the next day their final answer upon the subject of the two Conferences.

Third Day's Proceedings

17th July, 1801

Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan proceeded to inform us that the whole Family, and the Ministers of the late Nabob, had been assembled for the purpose of deliberating on the proposition stated by us on the preceding day, and that the result of their deliberation was a conviction in their own minds, that, notwithstanding the decided terms in which our proposition was communicated to them, the British Government would still be disposed to accept a modification of the terms required for its security in the Carnatic. They accordingly produced a contra project which they desired might be submitted to your Lordship's consideration

We informed the Khans that we possessed full authority from your Lordship and from the Governor-General for rejecting, on the part of the British Government, any proposal inconsistent with the extent of the security already required, and that our proposition for vesting exclusively in the hands of the Company the entire Administration of the Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic, contained the basis on which alone the proposed arrangement could be founded. We reminded the Khans of the importance which they had, at an earlier stage of the Conferences, attached to the extent of this proposition, and of their considering their authority insufficient to decide so momentous a question. We warned them that the interpretation they were about to give to the will of Omdut ul Omrah, involved them in a heavy responsibility to his reputed son, which the terms of the Will itself did not justify,¹ and we

(1) All the authority conveyed by the Will to these Khāns is contained in the Persian word *Imdād*, which signifies literally *Assistance*

stated for their consideration, that whatever might be the result of these Conferences the effect to be produced on their own interests could bear no comparison to the effect to be produced on those of Ally Hussain

The Khans replied that the subject of the evidence discovered at Seringapatam, had been agitated in the Durbar for more than twelve months that measures had been taken for justifying the conduct of Omdut ul Omrah, which they asserted to be innocent of any treacherous intention towards the British Government, that our propositions, containing the fundamental basis of an amicable arrangement had been fully discussed and debated that they (the Khans) had fully considered the nature of the authority and of the responsibility which the Will of Omdut ul Omrah devolved on them, that they were prepared to give a decided answer on the proposition and that the Paper delivered to us contained finally and unequivocally, the only terms on which they could accede to our arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic by Negotiation

Our endeavours to accomplish an amicable adjustment being thus defeated in limine by the formal rejection of your Lordship's fundamental propositions we should have felt ourselves justified in bringing the Negotiation to an immediate conclusion, but knowing the earnest desire of your Lordship and of the Governor General to obtain the security required for the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic by an amicable Negotiation and considering the proposals of the Khans to be so extravagant as to be undeserving of serious attention we judged it to be our duty not to exclude the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah from an opportunity of declaring his genuine sentiments upon a point of so much interest to himself and of relieving himself from the effects of the infa

(1) This contradicts, in the most direct terms, Nejeeb Khan's expressions of surprise on this subject in the first Conference

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tuated or treacherous Councils of his appointed advisers We therefore informed the Khans, that in a question which appeared to relate exclusively to the interests of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's reputed Son, we were desirous of receiving from himself a declaration, which would determine his future situation, either as the acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, or as a mere Dependant on the bounty of the Company. The extreme anxiety which the Khans discovered in attempting to evade this demand, confirmed in our judgment the expediency and necessity of persisting in it.

APPENDICES TO THE THIRD DAY'S CONFERENCE.

Translation of a Paper delivered by Ncejeb Khan Behauder, Salar Jung, and Mahomed Tukia Aly Khan Behauder, to Mr Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close, on the 5th day of Rubee ool aul 1216 of the Heygra

Inasmuch as we are jointly employed on a business of trust, and are desirous of adhering to the Will of our late Lord and Master, we have accordingly considered with great attention the matters which have been stated on each side during our conversations, and although we do not remember, word by word, what has been urged by each party, we yet recollect the substance of what passed You explained to us that Marquis Wellesley Behauder, had shewn himself displeased with the intention of the conduct of the late Nabob, in maintaining a correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, the late ruler of Mysore; and that in consequence the Son of the late Nabob, we mean our present benevolent and gracious Master, had forfeited his right to the protection of the Company. We cannot, Gentlemen, speak positively, as to the writings alluded to, but from our knowledge of the temper, disposition, and sentiments of the late Nabob, we are impressed with a full assurance that he was incapable of acting contrary to his own dignity, and the engagements of his Alliance, which he ever respected, and

indeed we ourselves know that he never corresponded with any power in Hindostan unless by means of the Company and the Company were well acquainted with the correspondence which did take place, and which consisted only of Letters couched in warm expressions of congratulation or condolence. If besides the correspondence of this description any writings have come to light, containing the matters of which you have read to us a short abstract, we apprehended that they have originated with evil Persons, for the purpose of shaking the friendship and union so long established between the late Nabob and the Company. Nor do we believe that the Company on mature consideration can hold it to be true that the late Nabob engaged in a correspondence contrary to their interests, and, adverting to the amicable and friendly behaviour observed by the Company till the last moments of the Nabob the whole world will be impressed that they entertained *no such suspicions* and with us it is matter of regret, that at a juncture when the Nabob is deprived of the means of justification, his reputation should be publicly injured. But, Gentlemen without dwelling on these matters, we consider ourselves as being honoured with the office of Agent on the part of the present Heir, according to the Will of his illustrious Father and we have to observe that you, Gentlemen have seen that Will and been made acquainted with the power which it has vested in Sahib Zadah the present Heir. The said Heir according to the law and rules which hold amongst us regarding succession, is found to inherit the whole of the rights and estate of his Father and is in every respect the true hereditary successor of his Father. In his case he has specially derived protection from the Treaty of 1792 A.D and we have held ourselves bound on his part by the said Treaty from the moment we entered on this great charge, namely the care of the Person and Government of the said Heir. Gentlemen without adverting to any of the contents of the above Treaty you have, on

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the part of the Governor-General Behauder, demanded of us, who are the Agents of the said Heir, either to deliver the Heir aforesaid and his Kingdom, entirely into the hands of the Governor-General, or to communicate our inclinations respecting such an arrangement as would be assented to by the Governor-General. We were happy, Gentlemen, that you did not insist on an immediate answer to your demand, as in the interval that has taken place, we have minutely considered your demands, as well as the trust that has been confided in us; and we apprehend, that when you made the said demand, the Treaty of 1792 A.D. was not in your contemplation, for the said Heir, successor of the late Nabob, is clearly included in the Treaty aforesaid. In this case the said Heir has become the protector of the agreements and stipulations of the Company contained in the said Treaty; and we are ready to abide in the fullest manner to every point that he has agreed to therein. We have not said that we were unwilling to agree to any Treaty *besides that above-mentioned*, on the contrary, we are prepared to hear any demands that may be proposed, and to exert ourselves to the extent of our ability for the purpose of adjusting them. We do not perceive much defect in the means long established by the Treaty, for promoting the security and union of both sides. In every event, if it can be modified for the interest of the Company, the aforesaid Heir will be happy at all times to attend to any wish that you may communicate, nor would we say that we should consider ourselves fortunate in being the means of adjusting so desirable an arrangement. We must infer, that you could scarcely hope that the demand, at which you hinted at the first meeting, and so clearly explained at the second, that it could not be misunderstood, would be accepted; as, Gentlemen, you well know that we, who are charged with the care of the Country, and the affairs of the Heir, have no authority to engage in such disaffection and faithlessness, as to deliver up unconditionally the whole rights

and property of our Master, and commit him and his Family in a state of want and subjection, to the Company We cannot therefore comprehend the substance and meaning of your demand, more than that it occurs to us that you have proposed a heavy demand to us in the first instance, under the idea that it might be diminished at future Conferences and that you might ascertain our sentiments touching a fresh agreement for renewing the friendship and union that has so long subsisted between the Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic.

Gentlemen with the view to meet the just wishes of the Company we have considered the objects and advantages which were often mentioned to the late Nabob and we have resolved to act in conformity to them to the extent of our ability and regarding them as the best foundations for an arrangement we now present a separate Paper containing a few correspondent propositions and in the event of their being approved they may be easily inserted in the Treaty of 1792 A.D. the happy effects of which have been witnessed by the Company and by us. We hope that in these propositions we have strongly demonstrated the will of the Heir as well as ours, to promote the true interest of the Company without entirely sacrificing the rights of the Heir which are committed to our care, and we trust that considering what we have stated above, our motive for bringing forward the propositions alluded to must be clear beyond the possibility of doubt. Adverting to the responsibility we sustain from the great affairs and interests in which we are engaged we have to request that you will deliver to us in writing any demands you may wish to state in reply in order that we may be free from any imputations hereafter We are confident that you will consider the delicate circumstances which have led us to this request and allow them to plead our excuse

(Signed) MAHOMED NEJREB KHAN,
SALAR JUNG,
MAHOMED TUCKIA ALLY KHAN BEHAUDER.

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Translation of propositions from the heir

Article I.—He cedes to the Company sovereign authority over the Poligars, but the Company shall give credit for two lacks sixty thousand seven hundred and four star pagodas, on account of the Poligar Peishcush, in the kists of the nine lacks payable each year.

Article II —The Heir grants full authority to the Company to collect the Revenues, etc, of the following districts:—The Revenues of these districts are detailed below, but they amount to more, *viz.*—

Tinnivelly	..	4,06,508 S Pagodas.
Madura	..	64,945
Ongole	..	13,534.
Palnad	..	24,657.

The amount of these two Articles, including the Poligar Peishcush, is 8,54,848 S. Pagodas; and this sum being deducted from the 9 lacks payable each year, leaves a balance of 45,152 star pagodas

Article III.—The sum of 45, 152 star pagodas, which is the balance of the nine lacks allotted to defray the expence for the defence of the Carnatic, and the sum of 6,21,105 star pagodas, which is allotted to discharge the debts of the Nabob Walajah, according to the Treaty, will be paid to the Company yearly by the Heir; and shall be discharged in ten equal kists, from the 1st to the 15th of each month, from the beginning of September to the month of June; and on the debts of the Nabob Walajah being discharged, the payment of the sum of 6,21,105 star pagodas shall cease, and the sum of 45,152 star pagodas only, shall continue to be paid yearly agreeably to the stipulations of 1792, and the whole of the contents of this Paper shall be considered as referring to the said Treaty

Article IV.—After the discharge of the above debts, the Heir shall liquidate the new Cavalry loan, and he will not only acknowledge that debt, but also the interest due on it.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Article V —In the event of failure, in the payment of the kists stipulated in the 3rd Article then those parts of the Treaty of 1792 shall be carried into effect, which relate to the districts detailed in Schedule No 2 of the said Treaty and which according to the 2nd Article of this Paper, have not been transferred and with the exception of the matters modified as above the whole of the Articles of the Treaty of 1792 shall continue in full force

The Heir out of his regard and friendship for the Company, will make over to the Company as an act of favour the whole of his rights touching the Pearl Fishery

Proceedings of the Fourth Day's Conference of Messrs Webbe and Close July 18th —Having personally communicated to your Lordship our suspicion, founded on the anxiety of the two Khans to prevent our interview with the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah that their conduct might not be conformable to the wishes and intentions of that person your Lordship authorized and instructed us to communicate to Mr Fitzgerald (the confidential Physician of the late Naboh) who had personal access to his Highness's reputed Son, the actual existence of the Governor General's orders and your Lordship's positive determination to execute those orders, for the purpose of obtaining an adequate security for the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic. Such parts of the Governor General's orders as were sufficient to remove all doubt on this subject, were accordingly communicated to Mr Fitzgerald, from his Excellency's original Dispatches. It being necessary in conformity to this intention, that further time should be allowed for the operation of this in direct communication the interview appointed for to-day was postponed and reason exists for believing that (as far as the opinion of Mr Fitzgerald was allowed to have effect) the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah as well as his two advisers, Nejeeh Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan were in the course of this day apprized

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ed of the actual circumstances in which they stood, through the channel of a confidential person, who could have no interest in augmenting the appearance of the danger, which actually menaced the immediate interests of Ally Hussain

Although this transaction forms no part of our public Negotiation, we have judged it to be proper to include it in the official Report of this day. It will demonstrate that no care was omitted, which could conciliate the mind of Ally Hussain, and of his appointed advisers.

5th Day, July 19th, 1801.—We proceeded about noon to the place. We enquired whether a further consideration of the subject of our Conferences had created in the minds of the two Khans any alteration of their sentiments delivered at the late interview? They replied, without hesitation, that it was not the intention of Ally Hussain to recede from the terms communicated to us in a written Paper at the last interview we then stated our belief, that under that declaration they were prepared for the serious consequences of the alternative, frequently described to them. The Khans replied, with much apparent composure and resolution, that they were prepared to meet those consequences, on their responsibility, under a perfect reliance on the protection of the Company, and on its adherence to the existing engagements. We reminded the Khans, that it was useless to recur to the stipulations of the Treaty of 1792, the vital spirit of which had been annihilated, and that the violation of Omdut-ul-Omrah's engagement had constituted the right of the Company to demand the security now required.

The reputed Son of Omdut-ul-Omrah being, at our desire, introduced according to the former appointment, we excused our intrusion, on his grief, by explaining our unwillingness to receive from any person but himself the final rejection of a proposition, made with great indulgence to him, on the part of the British Government, and involving consequences of the

greatest importance to his immediate interests We then stated, in a succinct manner, the nature of that proposition with the conclusive rejection of it by his appointed advisers and expressed our desire of knowing whether the motives of the Khans for thus rejecting, at such hazard to his welfare, the friendship of the Company, were conformable to his own sentiments and resolution He replied (the Khans being present) that he considered them to have been appointed by his Father for the purpose of assisting him and that the object of his own councils was not separate from that of the Khans

According to the plan previously arranged by your Lordship for this probable event we made known without farther delay your Lordship's intention of holding a personal Conference with Ally Hussain (previously to the final adoption of the measures then in your Lordship's contemplation) This communication was unexpected and the Khans endeavoured to evade it by repeating the excuses they had used at the former interview, but, being assured that your Lordship's orders in this respect admitted of no excuse, the Khans retired at the same time for the purpose of preparing the equipage of Ally Hussain During this short interval the young man with much apparent anxiety in his manner whispered in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by the two Khans. Ally Hussain accordingly proceeded without farther communication with the two Khans, to the tent of the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk at which place we had the honour of a personal interview with your Lordship

After the first ceremonies of the meeting had subsided the attendants of Ally Hussain including Nejeeh Khan and Tuckia Aliy Khan, were directed to withdraw and the tent was rendered entirely private. Before your Lordship's intention in this interview could be entirely explained Ally Hussain interrupted the conversation by expressing his sense of his Lord

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ship's consideration. He then proceeded to state, of his own accord, that the Conferences had been conducted by the two Khans without his participation in their councils; and that he disapproved the termination which had in consequence been given to the Negotiation

In consequence of this avowal, the entire substance of the Conferences was recapitulated to Ally Hussain, the nature of the proofs of the violation of the Alliance was distinctly described, and the extent of the security required by the British Government concisely explained Ally Hussain, after stating that he comprehended the whole of this important question, declared himself ready to conclude an arrangement with the British Government on the basis of the proposition communicated by us to the two Khans. He then proceeded to make enquiry into the secondary branches of the arrangement in your Lordship's contemplation, particularly with respect to the provision for his personal expenses, and to the extent of his power over the public treasure of his Father, which he considered to be large After a desultory conversation of some length, interrupted by the importunity of Nejeeb Khan, Ally Hussain proposed that a Treaty should be prepared by us, upon the basis of vesting the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company, and stated, that he would be ready to execute the instrument, with or without the consent of the Khans, at another separate Conference, which was appointed for the next day, within the lines of the British troops.

6th Day, July 20th, 1801—According to the appointment of yesterday, we proceeded to the Palace of Chepauk, and Ally Hussain having been introduced to us, said, in a resolute tone of voice, and with more apparent firmness in his manner than we had before observed, that the two Khans had been appointed by his Father's Will to assist his councils; that he could not adopt a line of conduct inconsistent with their advice; and that

therefore any farther interview with your Lordship was unnecessary

These expressions we attributed to Aliy Hussain's desire of concealing his real sentiments in the presence of the Khans and proceeded to state, that the Conference of yesterday having been interrupted by the importunity of Nejeeb Khan your Lordship was resolved to bring it to a termination at the interview appointed for this day. We accordingly attended Ally Hussain to the tent which having been again rendered entirely private, the young man stated in the same tone of confidence, that this interview was unnecessary as it was impossible for him to deviate from the sentiments already expressed by the two Khans. This unexpected change of sentiments in the mind of Ally Hussain having excited some surprize, your Lordship desired that he should explain himself more distinctly. In reply he stated that he was aware the sentiments now expressed by him differed entirely from those expressed on the preceding day, that the truth was he had seriously reflected on the subject of yesterday's Conference that the whole Family had been assembled to deliberate on the state of his affairs that he had in consequence given a better consideration to the actual circumstances in which he was placed that he retracted the opinion communicated to your Lordship yesterday and that he considered it to be totally incompatible with his interests and honour to accede to the proposition, on the basis of which he had agreed to conclude the Treaty.

We reminded him by your Lordship's direction, of the deception stated by himself to have been used by the Khans and expressed our confidence that, notwithstanding this unaccountable change of his ostensible manner the genuine sentiments of his mind were expressed at the Conference of yesterday—He said that this was not the case, that he had spoken at that time from an hasty impression but that the sentiments, which he now declared, were the result of serious

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reflection, and of a conviction on his mind, that by pursuing this line of conduct he should adhere to the intention of his Father and to the real interests of his Family We stated in reply, that he deceived himself, if he encouraged any expectation of securing the interests of his Family on any other basis than that of an amicable adjustment, for the alternative choice was either to become the acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, or one of many pensioners dependent on the bounty of the Company; that the choice, which he now appeared to have made, was so inconsistent with prudence, as to justify our considering him to act under some improper restraint.—We proceeded therefore to explain, that he was now actually within the British encampment, and that if he apprehended any consequences of personal danger or inconvenience from the pursuit of the genuine wishes of his heart, your Lordship would immediately secure him against any insults he might apprehend, by keeping him under the protection of the Company's forces He replied, that he acted from no impression of that description; but that the sentiments, which he now expressed contained the genuine feelings of his heart.

We expressed your Lordship's and our own suspicions, that he had been encouraged by interested persons to disbelieve the existence of the orders from the Governor-General, under the authority of which the fundamental proposition of the Negotiations had been stated to him, and we enquired whether he had received, from Mr. Fitzgerald, any communication on that subject. Ally Hussain answered, that Mr. Fitzgerald had spoken to him on the subject, and that his determination was not governed by any distrust of our communications relative to the orders of the Governor-General. We explained our allusion to the advice of interested persons, by stating, that those who held tuncaws or other claims on the Carnatic were deeply interested in persuading him to resist an amicable Negotiation, because in the event of an amicable adjustment

for vesting the Civil Government in the hands of the Company, they could have no hope of recovering those claims, whereas those hopes would still be cherished as long as he should be persuaded to keep the affairs of the Carnatic in an unsettled state. We further stated that the principles of persons of that description encouraged every expectation that they would be desirous of sacrificing the permanent interests and honour of his Family to the attainment of their Immediate advantage we added that such persons as well as the general body of his father's creditors, would feel an interest in persuading him to reject the proposition now offered to him, and to cherish a belief that the measures of this Government would be disapproved by the Court of Directors, and that the arrangement, which he might compel your Lordship to adopt would be reversed We warned Ally Hussain of the effects of such a fallacy by assuring him that the orders of the Governor General were founded on a previous communication with the Court of Directors and with His Majesty's Ministers and on a knowledge that the sentiments of the Government at home concurred entirely with those entertained by his Excellency and by your Lordship relative to the violation of the Alliance.

We were the more earnest in urging this point with your Lordship's permission on the attention of Ally Hussain because the Project, delivered to us at the third Conference by the two Khans contains manifest proof of having been translated from an European language and because it is equally manifest, from the tenor of that Paper that the author of it was interested in excluding the Executive Government in India from participating in the administration of the funds, now allotted by Treaty to the liquidation of the consolidated debts of the Nabob Mahomed Ally

Ally Hussain denied that he acted from any motives derived from the persuasion of others and repeated that his choice was now founded on his determination to adhere to the councils of the Khans, appointed by his Father's Will to assist him, and

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finally to reject the arrangement which had been proposed to him. We enquired whether he clearly understood the consequences of that determination with respect to himself, he said, that it had been clearly explained to him, but that, notwithstanding the explanation, he assured himself of the favour and protection of the Company, as well as of your Lordship's paternal care. In proceeding to conclude the Conference, your Lordship desired Ally Hussain to prepare himself to receive your Lordship's final and most serious resolution. It was then explained to him, that no pains had been omitted, which could warn him of the consequences he was about to incur, that the duties of humanity towards him, and the duties of attention to the national character of the British Government, had been satisfied; that he had himself determined the situation in which he would hereafter be placed, and that your Lordship, with concern for himself individually, now apprised him, that his future situation would be that of a private person, hostile to the British interests, and dependent on the bounty of the Company.

This declaration Ally Hussain received with a degree of composure and confidence, which denoted that he acted from no impression of fear, and a smile of complacency, which appeared on his countenance throughout this discussion, denoted an internal satisfaction at the line of conduct he was pursuing. Being asked if he wished to make any further observation, he said that he did not; and being also asked whether he had any objection to the introduction of the Khans into the tent, he said that he had none, which being accordingly done, he was directed by your Lordship to leave the tent.

Proceedings of the 7th day, July 21st—Your Lordship having communicated to us your intention to open, if possible, a negociation with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah, endeavours were accordingly used to establish a communication with him, but it was found that so strict a watch had been established

over him by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah that no means appeared to be practicable for opening a private communication with him, while any attempt to effect it by open means appeared liable to the serious objection of precipitating the fate of the young Prince

Proceedings of the 8th day July 22nd —In this situation of things it was reported to your Lordship by the Officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, that Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan had already performed the ceremony of installing Ally Hussain in a private manner on the Musnud of Arcot, and that they had resolved to instal him in a public manner on the following day

Your Lordship resolved to prevent a measure calculated to produce immediate commotion in the provinces of the Carnatic, for that purpose Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil was directed to take entire possession of the Palace of Chepauk with the British troops, and to remove entirely all the guards of the late Omdut ul Omrah, who had been permitted to remain at their posts during the late Negotiations. This measure established the immediate means of relieving Azeem ul Dowlah and a party of the Company's troops was substituted at the hovel in which that Prince was confined in lieu of the guards stationed over it by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah.

As soon as the first surprise of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah permitted him to receive an explanation that the guard was intended for his greater security and protection he expressed his satisfaction at the change, together with the desire of being permitted to explain his situation.

Proceedings of the 9th day July 23rd —On the morning of this day Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil waited upon the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah for the ostensible purpose of excusing and explaining to him the cause of stationing a party of the Company's troops over the place in which he resided. Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil took this opportunity of inform-

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ing the Prince, that if he should have any desire of representing the state of his affairs to the British Government, the means of doing so without danger had now been opened to him.

In consequence of this communication, a time was appointed by your Lordship's directions for our meeting the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah. At the interview which ensued, the conversation on the part of the Prince was confined to a statement of the injuries which he had sustained, and of the hardships he continued to sustain, from the depression of his fortune, and from the poverty of his circumstances. He requested, with much earnestness, that his case might be considered in the general arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, and appeared to limit his expectation to a more comfortable domestic arrangement for his Family. Sufficient grounds however appeared, in the course of the conversation, to satisfy our judgment, that the Prince was capable of sustaining a more important character, and that his sense of his own immediate interests would dispose him to meet with cordiality any overture on the part of the British Government for reviving, in his person, the Alliance so long subsisting between the Company and his Family.

The conversation ended with an assurance on our part of your Lordship's immediate attention to Azeem ul Dowlah's difficulties, and to the provision of a more suitable accommodation for his Family.

Proceedings of the 10th day, July 24th —An interview having been appointed for communicating to the Prince this day the result of your Lordship's consideration of his case, we met him at an early hour in the tent of Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil.—The conversation was opened by some distant observations of the state in which the affairs of the Carnatic had been placed by the death of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and the remarks of the Prince continuing in our judgment, to be favourable to the impression we had received of his understanding and disposition, we proceeded to explain to him the actual situation in which the

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

The remaining clauses of the proposed Treaty having been discussed and assented to, the Prince affixed his signature to a Persian draft of the proposed Treaty binding himself to execute a more formal instrument at the period of his intended installation

In concluding our Report of this Conference, we cannot omit to state to your Lordship the impressioo made on our minds by the decorous deportment moderation and good sense by which Azeem ul Dowlah distinguished himself upon this sudden elevation from a state of penury and wretchedness to the possession of princely magnificence, honours and rank.

Proceedings of the 12th Day July 26th — This morning we had the satisfaction of presenting his Highness the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah in a formal manner to your Lordship and of subsequently conducting him as the ostensible future Nabob of the Carnatic, to the Ameer Baugh, the residence of his Highness father, the late Ameer ul Omrah

(A true copy)

(Signed) J WEBBE,
Chief Secretary of Government

CLOSE.

*Copy of extracts from the letter of His Excellency
Lord Clive to His Excellency the Most Noble the
Marquis Wellesley K P &c &c &c dated Fort St
George, 27th July 1801*

My Lord,

(1) In my Dispatch of the 15th instant I had the honour of communicating to your Lordship my intention of endeavouring to effect an arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic through the channel of negotiation.

(2) I have considered that to be a mode of adjustment so preferable to the exercise of the rights of the British Govern

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ment, by the assertion of its power, that I judged it to be advisable, in my verbal instructions to the Deputies, to provide, that their unceasing attention should be directed to the accomplishment of that object. The Conferences opened in consequence, were conducted in a manner entirely conformable to this principle. The Khans, appointed by the Will of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah for the aid of his reputed Son, were apprised by Mr Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close of the positive grounds of right, on which it was the determination of the British Government to obtain security for its interests in the Carnatic, at the same time every argument of conciliation and persuasion was urged by the Deputies, founded on the long-established connection between the Company and the Family of the Nabob Walajah; on the humiliating consequences of publishing to the world the evidence of the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah, discovered at Seringapatam, and on the different degrees of dignity, splendour, and comfort which would attach to the reputed Son of that Prince under circumstances of friendly accommodation, or of hostile resistance to the demand of security on the part of the British Government.

(3) The negotiation was interrupted at its earliest stage by a refusal on the part of the Khans, appointed to assist the Son of Omdut ul Omrah, to acquiesce in the demand contained in the fundamental proposition of the deputies for territorial security, to the extent of vesting the Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic exclusively in the hands of the British Government. To this demand the Khans opposed an uniform resistance, and the Deputies would have been justified in bringing the negotiation to a conclusion on this point of difference. Reason however existed for believing, that their conduct was not conformable to the sentiments of the young man, it was consistent with the motive for proceeding by negotiation, that every practicable degree of facility should be given to that plan of arrangement. An opportunity was therefore offered to Ally

Hussain, of declaring his genuine sentiments, and accordingly, in a separate conversation with myself he distinctly stated that he had not participated in the councils of his assistants.

(4) In consequence of this declaration, it was my intention to have relieved the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah from the situation in which he appeared to have been placed by the conduct of his Father's confidential Ministers. A second meeting was accordingly appointed for the purpose of completing the arrangement necessary to the acknowledgment of Ally Hussain's title and for the establishment of territorial security for the rights of the Company. At this subsequent Conference, which was also conducted without the presence of his assistants, Ally Hussain retracted his declaration of the preceding day he expressed his unequivocal concurrence in the sentiments of the Khans, together with his resolution not to depart from the result of their councils and declared his resolution to meet, at whatever hazard, the consequences of refusing this reasonable demand of security on the part of the British Government.

(5) Having exhausted all the means in my power of impressing on the mind of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's Son a just sense of the right acquired by the Company under the violation of the alliance or of the determination of the British Government to exercise that right for the attainment of an adequate security I was reluctantly compelled to discontinue all further communication with the immediate Family of Omdut ul Omrah

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(10) The attainment of an adequate security by means of negotiation from the immediate Family of Omdut ul Omrah has been rendered impracticable, under the letter of your Lordship's last instructions, by Ally Hussain's rejection of the fundamental proposition for that purpose but the spirit of your Lordship's provisional orders under date the 26th of March, 1800 is still applicable to the actual circumstances in

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which the affairs of the Carnatic have now been placed Considerations, independent of those connected with our external relations, are suggested by the state of our domestic affairs; the rebellion in the Southern Provinces has assumed a more formidable aspect than could have been expected, and although the force assembled is, I trust, sufficient for the suppression of it, the movement of troops required for that purpose has unavoidably so reduced the appointed force of the Provinces, as to render extremely inconvenient any measure calculated to augment the number of disaffected persons During the recent negotiations, circumstances have occurred which establish my belief of the existence of a very considerable treasure in the possession of the Family of the late Nabob and it is of great importance that so pregnant a source of mischief should not now be thrown into a scale adverse to our interests

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(12) On a review of all these circumstances and considerations, I have judged the principles of your Lordship's orders to remain in full force, although the mode of applying them has failed with respect to the supposed Son of Omdut ul Omrah; but every consideration of our general policy, of expediency with respect to our external relations, and of prudence with regard to our internal tranquillity, requires, in my judgment, that the actual establishment of our security on the basis of right to exercise the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic, should be accompanied by the gracious and conciliatory measure of establishing a branch of the House of Mahomed Ally in a degree of rank and splendour, suited to its long subsisting connection with the Company, and consistent with the actual circumstances of the Carnatic.

(13) I have already apprised your Lordship by my private Dispatches, that, under the impression of these sentiments, I had directed my attention to the situation of Azeem ul Dowlah, the only son of the late Ameer ul Omrah, and that in

determining to advance him eventually to the Sonbahdarry of Arcot, I had considered myself at liberty to extend to the present situation of the affairs of the Carnatic, the provisional instructions contained in your Lordship's Dispatch of the 26th of March 1800. Having adopted in consequence of this intention the necessary measures of precaution for removing the restraint imposed during a long period of time by the Family of Omdut ul Omrah, on the person of Azcem ul Dowlah, I directed Mr Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close to open a negotiation with that Prince, upon the grounds of the rights acquired by the Company from the violation of the Alliance on the part of his Family, and upon the wish of the British Government to avoid, as far as might be consistent with its actual security the humiliation of this ancient and illustrious House

(14) I have the honour of acquainting your Lordship that the negotiation has been brought to a successful determination and I enclose the draft of a Treaty¹ which Azim ul Omrah has bound himself to execute in a more formal manner as soon as circumstances may be sufficiently advanced to admit the execution of a public instrument

(15) In providing a suitable maintenance for the successor of Omdut ul Omrah I have thought it more advisable to render the amount dependant on the general prosperity of the country than to fix an unconditional stipend for the support of his dignity this mode of arrangement, while it cannot encroach upon our security is calculated to qualify the entire transfer of the Civil Government of the Carnatic to the hands of the British with the preservation of an active principle for securing an union of interests between the Nabob of the Carnatic and the Company in the administration of the affairs of the country and this mode possesses the farther recommendation of relieving

(1) *Vide* copy of Treaty transmitted in the dispatch from the Governor-in Council of *Port St George* dated 31st July 1801

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the provision for the maintenance of the Nabob from the appearance of a mere pension On the same grounds of reasoning, I have judged it expedient to secure the income of the Nabob from the effects of any considerable failure in the Revenue of the Carnatic On the principle adopted, I expect that the income of the Nabob will not much exceed two lacks of pagodas, and the future augmented income will probably never exceed the sum of three lacks of pagodas

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(Signed) CLIVE

Copy of a Declaration of the Governor of Fort St. George, dated 31st July, 1801.

Declaration of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council of *Fort St. George*, by and with the Authority of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council of all the British Possessions in the East Indies.

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- In the full enjoyment of the most abundant proofs of the moderation, indulgence, and good faith of the Honourable Company, the Nabob Mahomed Ally and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, actually commenced and maintained a secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, the determined enemy of the British Name, founded on principles and directed to objects utterly subversive of the Alliance between the Nabob of the Carnatic and the Company, and equally incompatible with the security of the British Power in the Peninsula of India.

After the fall of Seringapatam, the British Government obtained possession of the original records of Tippoo Sultaun; the correspondence of that Prince's Ambassadors, during the residence at *Fort St. George* in attendance on his Sons the hostage Princes, in the years 1792 and 1793, established sufficient ground of apprehension, that their Highnesses the late Nabob Mahomed Ally and the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, had

entered into a secret intercourse with the late Tippoo Sultaun of a nature hostile to the British interests in India. The enquiries of the British Government have been since directed to ascertain a fact so intimately connected with the security of its rights in the Carnatic. The result has established the following propositions by a series of connected written and oral testimony

First —At the very period of time when the Nabob Mahomed Ally appealed to the generosity of the British Government for an indulgent modification of the Treaty of 1787 his Highness had already commenced a secret negotiation for the establishment of an intimate intercourse with the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun without the knowledge of the British Government and for purposes evidently repugnant to its security and honour

Second —The Nabob OmJut ul Omrah (who was empowered by the Nabob Mahomed Ally to negotiate the Treaty of 1792 with the British Government, and who actually negotiated that Treaty for himself and for his Father) was actually employed at the same period of time, under his father's authority in negotiating for himself and for his father the terms of the said separate and secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun

Third —The tendency of the said intercourse was directed to the support of Tippoo Sultaun in victory and triumph over all his enemies

Fourth —In the month of December 1792, the Nabob Mahomed Ally imparted secret information to Tippoo Sultaun regarding the sentiments and intentions of the British Government in India, with relation to the hostile views and negotiation of Tippoo Sultaun at the Courts of Poona and Hyderabad and on the first intelligence of the War between Great Britain and France in the year 1793 the Nabob Mahomed Ally imparted secret information to Tippoo Sultaun respecting the views and power of France in India and in Europe and respecting the intended operations of the British forces against the French

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possessions in the Carnatic. And the Nabob Mahomed Ally conveyed to Tippoo Sultaun secret admonitions and friendly advice respecting the most favourable season, and the most propitious state of circumstances, for the violation of Tippoo Sultaun's engagements with the Honourable Company.

Fifth.—The Nabob Omdut ul Omrah was employed by his Father or one of the Agents to convey secret intelligence, friendly admonition, and seasonable advice to Tippoo Sultaun, through the confidential agents of Tippoo Sultaun, who were furnished with instructions from the said Sultaun of Mysore, to receive such communications from the said Nabob of the Carnatic, and from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah

Sixth —A cypher was composed and actually introduced into the separate and secret correspondence between the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Tippoo Sultaun; the original key of the said cypher, discovered among the records of Seringapatam is in the handwriting of the confidential Moonshee (or Secretary) of the Nabob Mahomed Ally and of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and the said cypher was delivered by a confidential agent of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the Ambassador of Tippoo Sultaun, for the express purpose of being transmitted to Tippoo Sultaun

Seventh —The terms employed in the said cypher, particularly, those intended to designate the British Government and its Allies, the Nizam and the Mahratta State, united in a defensive league against Tippoo Sultaun, contain the most powerful internal evidence that the communications proposed to be disguised by the said cypher, were of the most hostile tendency, to the interests and objects of the said Alliance, and calculated to promote the cause of Tippoo Sultaun in opposition to that of the said Allies

Eighth.—The Nabob Omdut ul Omrah under his own handwriting, in the month of August, 1794, corroborated the evidence of his intention to complete the purposes herein

described of the secret intercourse which he had negotiated with Tippoo Sultaun, and the continuance of the same intention is manifested by Letter from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah and from his confidential agent, addressed to the supposed agent of Tippoo Sultaun in the year 1796 subsequently to the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's accession to the Government of the Carnatic under the Treaty of 1792

Ninth —At the commencement and during the progress of the late just necessary and glorious War with the late Tippoo Sultaun the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the utmost extent of his means and power pursued the objects of his secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultann by a systematic course of deception with respect to the provision of the funds necessary to enable the British troops to march into Mysore as well as by a systematic and active opposition to the supply and movement of the allied Army through different parts of the said Nabob's dominions.

Tenth —The stipulations contained in the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1787 and the 10th Article of the Treaty of 1792 by which the Nabobs of the Carnatic were bound not to enter into any political negotiations or correspondence with any European or Native Power or State, without the consent of the Government of Fort St. George or of the Company formed a fundamental condition of the Alliance between the said Nabob and the Company and the violation of the said stipulations necessarily involved the entire forfeiture on the part of the Nabob, of all the benefits of the said Alliance

Eleventh —The Nabob Mahomed Ally and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah have violated the said stipulations and have thereby forfeited all the benefits of the said Alliance, and the Nabob Mahomed Ally and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah having violated the said stipulations for the express purpose of establishing an union of interests with Tippoo Sultaun thereby placed themselves in the condition of public enemies to the British Government in India.

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Whatever claim to the Company's protection and support the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah may derive from his supposed father, had been utterly destroyed by the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah, it follows, therefore, that the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah has succeeded to the condition of his Father, which condition was that of a public enemy; and consequently that at the death of Omdut ul Omrah, the British Government remained at liberty to exercise its rights, founded on the faithless policy of its Ally, in whatever manner might be deemed most conducive to the immediate safety and to the general interests of the Company in the Carnatic.

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The reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah, by and with the advice of the persons appointed by his Father's Will to assist his Councils, has persisted in opposing a determined resistance to this demand, thereby exhibiting an unequivocal proof that the spirit which actuated the hostile councils of the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, has been transmitted with unabated vigour to the supposed Son of Omdut ul Omrah, secured in its operation under the sanctimonious forms of their testamentary injunctions, and preserved with religious attachment by the ostensible descendant of that Prince.

Frustrated in the hope of obtaining from the reputed Son of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, reparation for its injuries and security for its rights, the British Government is now reluctantly compelled to publish to the world the proofs of this flagrant violation of the most sacred ties of Amity and Alliance, by the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, and the hereditary spirit of enmity manifested by the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah to the interests of the British Government. The duty and necessity of self-defence require the British Government, under the circumstances of this case, to exercise its power in the attainment of an adequate security for its rights; justice and moderation warrant, that the family of

Omdut ul Omrah shall be deprived of the means of completing its systematic course of hostility, wisdom and prudence demand, that the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah shall not be permitted to retain possession of resources dangerous to the tranquillity of the British Government in the Peninsula of India.

Wherefore the British Government, still adhering to the principles of moderation, and actuated by its uniform desire of obtaining security for its rights and interests in the Carnatic, by an arrangement founded on the principles of the long subsisting Alliance between the Company and the Family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally judged it expedient to enter into a negotiation for that purpose with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, the Son and Heir of Amir ul Omrah, who was the second Son of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, and the immediate Great-Grandson by both his parents of the Nabob Anwer ud Deen Khan of blessed memory And his Highness the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder having entered into engagements for the express purpose of reviving the Alliance between the Company and his illustrious Ancestors and of establishing an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic, the British Government has now resolved to exercise its rights and its power under Providence in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder in the Soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut.

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By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

(A true copy)

(Signed) J WEBBE,
Chief Secretary to Government

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE,
Secretary

Fort St George
31st July 1801

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Copy of Proceedings of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, on the signing of the Treaty between the Company and Azeem ul Dowlah.

To His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley,
K P., Governor-General in Council at Fort William.

My Lord,

1. Lord Clive has had the honour of informing the Governor-General of the demise of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the late Nabob of the Carnatic, on the 15th instant. His Excellency has also been apprized by his Lordship of the measures adopted by Lord Clive, in conformity to the separate Dispatches of the Governor-General, for establishing the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic, on the permanent basis of territorial security

2. These Dispatches, and the result of Lord Clive's measures for the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, having been communicated to us, we have the honour to acquaint your Excellency in Council, that a Treaty has been this day concluded, subject to the ratification of the Governor-General in Council, for settling the succession to the Soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and for vesting the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company.

3 The separate Dispatches of Lord Clive will have explained to his Excellency the Governor-General the cause which prevented his Lordship from communicating to the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah the nature of the Governor-General's instructions, founded on the written and oral testimony taken at Seringapatam; the subsequent demand made by Lord Clive of an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, the positive and formal rejection by that person of an amicable adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic, founded on the rights acquired by the Company, from his reputed Father's violation of the Alliance, and of the express stipulations of the Treaty of 1792, the subsequent motives of Lord Clive for opening a negotiation

Omdut ul Omrah shall be deprived of the means of completing its systematic course of hostility, wisdom and prudence demand, that the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah shall not be permitted to retain possession of resources dangerous to the tranquillity of the British Government in the Peninsula of India.

Wherefore the British Government still adhering to the principles of moderation and actuated by its uniform desire of obtaining security for its rights and interests in the Carnatic, by an arrangement founded on the principles of the long subsisting Alliance between the Company and the Family of the Naboh Mahomed Ally judged it expedient to enter into a negotiation for that purpose with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder the Son and Heir of Amir ul Omrah, who was the second Son of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, and the immediate Great-Grandson by both his parents of the Nabob Anwer ud Deen Khan of blessed memory And his Highness the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder having entered into engagements for the express purpose of reviving the Alliance between the Company and his illustrious Ancestors and of establishing an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic, the British Government has now resolved to exercise its rights and its power under Providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder in the Soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut.

* * * *

By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

(A true copy)

(Signed) J WEBBE,
Chief Secretary to Government

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE,
Secretary

Fort St George
31st July, 1801

APPENDIX B

Copy of Proceedings of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, on the signing of the Treaty between the Company and Azeem ul Dowlah.

To His Excellency, the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K P., Governor-General in Council at Fort William.

My Lord,

1. Lord Clive has had the honour of informing the Governor-General of the demise of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the late Nabob of the Carnatic, on the 15th instant. His Excellency has also been apprized by his Lordship of the measures adopted by Lord Clive, in conformity to the separate Dispatches of the Governor-General, for establishing the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic, on the permanent basis of territorial security

2. These Dispatches, and the result of Lord Clive's measures for the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, having been communicated to us, we have the honour to acquaint your Excellency in Council, that a Treaty has been this day concluded, subject to the ratification of the Governor-General in Council, for settling the succession to the Soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and for vesting the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company.

3 The separate Dispatches of Lord Clive will have explained to his Excellency the Governor-General the cause which prevented his Lordship from communicating to the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah the nature of the Governor-General's instructions, founded on the written and oral testimony taken at Seringapatam; the subsequent demand made by Lord Clive of an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah; the positive and formal rejection by that person of an amicable adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic, founded on the rights acquired by the Company, from his reputed Father's violation of the Alliance, and of the express stipulations of the Treaty of 1792, the subsequent motives of Lord Clive for opening a negotiation

with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, for the purpose of reviving the Alliance between the Family of his Highness and the British Government, founded on the instructions of the Governor General to avoid the humiliation of the Family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, if it should be practicable to obtain by negotiation the security required for our rights in the Carnatic, and finally the terms of the arrangement which has been concluded by the Deputies under the immediate authority of Lord Clive these points having been fully stated in his Lordship's separate Dispatches we trust that it will be sufficient for us to refer the Governor General in Council to those Dispatches with the expression of our entire concurrence in the arrangements adopted by Lord Clive under his Excellency's separate instructions

4 We have now the honour of transmitting to your Excellency in Council an official copy of the Treaty, which has this day been executed and interchanged by us with the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder and we recommend that a ratified copy of the Treaty may be transmitted to us with all practicable expedition for the purpose of being delivered to his Highness

5 The change of circumstances arising from the conduct of Ally Hussain, and the persons appointed to assist his counsels, has rendered it necessary for Lord Clive to introduce a correspondent change in the structure of the Declaration transmitted to his Lordship by the Governor-General. We have the honour of submitting to your Excellency in Council a copy of the Declaration in the form in which we should judge it advisable to publish that paper if your Excellency should deem the publication of it to be expedient

6. It is our intention that a copy of the Declaration in this form shall be immediately transmitted to the Governor in Council at Bombay, and to the Residents at Hyderabad and Poona, for the purpose of communicating to them the grounds on which the succession to the Sonbeharry of the territories of Arcot and the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, have

APPENDIX B

been settled and established ; but we shall use no further means for the distribution of that document, unless we should receive instructions for that purpose from your Excellency in Council

7. In concluding an arrangement involving consequences of so much importance to the British interests in India, it is impossible for us not to feel a degree of anxiety correspondent to the magnitude of the subject, until we shall be honoured by the receipt of the determination of your Excellency in Council on this transaction. In the meanwhile, anticipating with confidence the concurrence of your Lordship's sentiments with our own, we offer our congratulations to your Excellency in Council on the conclusion of an arrangement, by which the rights and interests of Great Britain in the Carnatic have at length been fixed on the solid foundation of territorial security.

8 We have the honour to inform your Excellency in Council, that his Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder has this day been installed in the Musnud of his ancestors, as Nabob Soubehdar of the Carnatic, with every mark of public respect from the British Government, and with every practicable degree of splendour conformable to the usages of India.

9. It is our intention to dispatch the Whim Packet immediately for the purpose of conveying to the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors our Dispatches on the subject, which is now submitted to the Governor-General in Council.

We have the honour to be,
My Lord, with great respect,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient and humble Servants,

(Signed) CLIVE,

F. STUART,

WM. PETRIE,

E. W. FALLOFIELD.

Fort St. George,
31st July, 1801.

Copies and Extracts of Letters from the Governor General and the Governor in Council of Fort St George, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors relative to the Revolution in the Carnatic and the Assumption of its Government by the Company

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors

Honourable Sirs

1 Your Honourable Committee has been already made acquainted by the Dispatches of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General with the written evidence discovered at Seringapatam, of the treacherous conduct of their Highnesses the Nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah.

2 On the receipt of the Governor-General's separate Dispatches, Lord Clive in conformity to His Excellency's desire expressed in a private Dispatch, appointed Mr Webbe the Chief Secretary to this Government and Lieutenant Colonel Close, the Resident at Mysore, to be Commissioners for the purpose of conducting the oral examinations necessary to complete the proofs of these most extraordinary transactions

3 The Report of the Commissioners with the Proceedings, was received by Lord Clive, and transmitted to his Excellency the Governor-General, in the month of May, 1800 with a Dispatch from Lord Clive containing his Lordship's sentiments on the result of the enquiry instituted at Seringapatam

4 Circumstances connected with our general policy and interests, rendered it expedient for the Governor-General to postpone his Excellency's determination with respect to the measures to be adopted in consequence of this flagrant violation of the ties of Amity and Alliance by the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah. The causes of this unavoidable delay are explained in a recent Dispatch, received by Lord Clive from the Governor-General, containing the result of his Excellency's deliberation on this important question, together

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with his Lordship's instructions in regard to the nature and extent of the security to be required for the rights and interests of the Company in the Carnatic

5 During the time when this subject was under the consideration of the Governor-General, the state of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's health became so precarious as to portend consequences fatal to the existence of his Highness.

6. At an early period of time, after the discovery of the papers found at Seringapatam, the Governor-General had judged it expedient and prudent to transmit eventual instructions to Lord Clive, applicable to the contingency of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's death, previously to the determination of the measures which might be rendered necessary to our safety by the detection of the faithless and hostile conduct of His Highness. Lord Clive was also enabled to receive instructions from the Governor-General, applicable to the contingency of the Nabob's death, subsequently to the determination of the system of policy to be pursued for the future security of our interests in the Carnatic.

7. These dispatches were entrusted by the Governor-General, together with his Excellency's verbal instructions, to Mr. Webbe, who arrived at Fort St. George previously to the dissolution of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah. Although the important measures connected with the execution of the Governor-General's orders, rendered Lord Clive extremely anxious to demand, at the earliest practicable period of time, an adequate security for the British interests against the hostile councils of his Highness, yet the extreme debility of Omdut ul Omrah appeared, upon the affidavit of his Highness's physician, to be such as to deter Lord Clive from communicating to his Highness the arrival of the Governor-General's Dispatches. The subsequent death of Omdut ul Omrah, which happened on the 15th ultimo, frustrated the intention of Lord

Clive to open a negotiation with his Highness according to the instructions of the Governor General

8. On the demise of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, Lord Clive deputed Mr Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close to open a Conference with the principal Officers of the late Government for the purpose of demanding from the successor of Omdut ul Omrah the security required by the instructions of the Governor-General

9 The manner in which those Conferences were conducted, is described in a report of the deputies and the result of them was a declaration by Ally Hussain (the reputed Son, and the Heir appointed by the Will of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah) of his final resolution not to acquiesce in Lord Clive's demand of security to the extent considered by the Governor General and by his Lordship to be indispensably necessary to the security of the British interests

10 During these Conferences with the persons appointed by Omdut ul Omrah to assist the councils of his Highness's reputed Son the deputies nominated by Lord Clive endeavoured to impress on the minds of those Khans the nature of the proofs established on the written and oral testimony taken at Seringapatam and no means of assurance, argument, or persuasion were omitted, which could tend to convince those persons of the existence of the Governor General's orders, founded on the instructions of your Honourable Committee and of Lord Clive's serious determination to carry those orders into effect, to the extent of obtaining an adequate security for the rights and interests of the Company in the Carnatic. Under the circumstances of the recent death of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah and of the indeterminate state of the affairs of his Highness some degree of delay was inseparable from these negotiations but we have no doubt that your Committee will consider the inconveniences arising from that delay to be compensated by the generosity of affording to the Family, of

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Omdut ul Omrah, in this spirit of temperance and moderation, sufficient leisure to appreciate the serious effects of this alternative choice on its immediate interest. The Khans appointed to act on the part of Ally Hussain, having persisted to refuse to the Deputies the security required by the Governor-General, Lord Clive judged it to be his Lordship's duty, previously to the adoption of the measures dependant on that refusal, to obtain, if possible, a knowledge of the genuine sentiments of Ally Hussain himself on this important proposition. Lord Clive accordingly held two personal interviews with the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah, at which none of the Officers or Advisers of the late Government were present, the place at which these interviews were held being within the encampment of the British troops. The mode of this Meeting was attended with the further advantage of affording to Ally Hussain immediate security and protection in the event of his desiring to relieve himself from the desperate and infatuated councils of his Advisers. At these personal interviews, the nature of the rights acquired by the British Government was explained to Ally Hussain; the determination to exercise those rights was stated; and the consequences of a refusal on his part to afford, in an amicable manner, the security required by the British Government, were announced in the most serious and formal manner by Lord Clive to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah. In reply to this communication, Ally Hussain distinctly and formally stated his resolution to adhere to the councils of the Khans appointed to assist, and to refuse, with a perfect knowledge of the consequences of that refusal, to accede to the demand for the establishment of an adequate security for the interests and rights of the Company in the Carnatic.

11. In consequence of the resistance, unexpectedly, opposed by Ally Hussain to this reasonable demand, it remained for Lord Clive to apply the instructions and authority conveyed

to his Lordship by the Governor General to the actual state of circumstances. In proceeding to exercise the rights of the British Government, which the conduct of Ally Hnssain had compelled his Lordship to assert Lord Clive still judged it to be consistent with the sentiments of national magnanimity and generosity that the British Government should refrain from the exercise of the Company's power, and from the absolute humiliation of the family of Mahomed Ally, if an adequate security could be obtained through the channel of an amicable adjustment. Under the Impression of these sentiments, Lord Clive directed his attention to the claims and to the situation of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder. This Prince is the only son by a formal marriage of the late Ameer ul Omrah, who was the second son of the late Nabob Ally, and is the immediate great grandson by both his parents, of the Nabob Anwer ud Deen Khan the founder of the family. The rights of Omdut ul Omrah founded on the Treaty of 1792, having been vitiated by that Prince's violation of the Alliances and of the stipulations of that instrument, the hereditary claims of the house of Mahomed Ally descended to the second branch of the family represented by the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah, the son of Ameer ul Omrah who was the second son of the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

12. As soon as the restraint imposed by the family of Omdut ul Omrah on the person of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah could be removed Lord Clive directed the deputies Mr Wehbe and Lieut. Col Close, to open a communication with that Prince, for the purpose of reviving the alliance between his ancestors and the Company and of establishing the rights and interest of the British Government in the Carnatic on a permanent basis of security. The grounds of the reasoning in which this determination was founded are stated in a separate Dispatch from Lord Clive to the Governor General to which we refer your Honourable Committee.

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13. The Prince Azeem ul Dowlah having informed by the Deputies, of the foundation on which the right of the British Government to demand an adequate security was supported, and of the nature of the security required, signified his acknowledgment of that right, and his willingness to afford, in the event of his elevation to the Musnud of his ancestors, the security demanded by the authority of the Governor-General. The deputies accordingly proceeded to frame a written engagement on these principles, which was executed by the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah

14. In conformity to this arrangement we have acknowledged Azeem ul Dowlah to be Nabob of the Carnatic, and refer your Committee to the detailed grounds of this measure to a declaration, which has been transmitted to the Governor-General in Council, to the Governor in Council at Bombay, to the Governor of Ceylon, and to the Residents at Hyderabad and Poona; for this purpose we also refer the Committee to the Treaty, which has been concluded with the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder.

15 The mode of providing for the support of the dignity of his Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, is conformable to the principles on which the alliance between his Highness's family and the Company has been revived and established. By these means the interests of his Highness will become united with those of the Company in the general prosperity of the Carnatic; and while the actual security of the British interests, provided by the present arrangement, remains undiminished, the mode of supplying a fund for the expenses of the family in the manner suitable to its rank, and to the dignity of the British Government, by the allotment of a proportion of the Public Revenue for that purpose, is entirely relieved from the degrading name and appearance of a stipendiary maintenance.

16. In conformity to the plan described in the Governor-General's letter of the 24th April, 1799, to the late Nabob

Omdnt ul Omrah, for including in the Treaty at that time proposed to his Highness, a complete adjustment of all the affairs of his Highness, and of his Highness's ancestors which yet remain unadjusted with the Company, Lord Clive deemed it to be his duty to stipulate an entire adjustment of the debts due by the family of the Nabob to the Company. His Highness having assented to this demand, a clause has accordingly been introduced into the Treaty by which the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah acknowledges on his own part and on that of his ancestors heretofore Nabobs of the Carnatic, the debt commonly called the Cavalry Loan and the debt arising from the consolidated debt of 1777 paid by the Company to the private creditors of the late Nabob Mahomed Ally, to be just debts due to the Company together with the interest arising thereon. His Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah further binds himself to acknowledge, as a just debt due to the Company the amount which may be pronounced by the Governor General in Council, to be the just and fair balance of the unadjusted account between his Family and the Company according to the engagement by which the Nabob Mahomed Aliy bound himself to abide by the decision of the Governor General in Council, when his Highness referred those accounts to the determination of the Supreme Government.

17 It will be obvious to your honourable Committee that the intention of Lord Clive stipulating this article of the Treaty, was directed to secure to the Company the appropriation of the sum of six lacks and twenty-one thousand pagodas unincumbered by any deductions to the discharge of the public debt due to the Company, as soon as the consolidated debt of 1777 shall have been liquidated under the existing engagements with the conditions of the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

18. The object of securing this sum for the liquidation of the debt due to the Company, did not appear less important to Lord Clive, than the expediency of providing that, under any

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circumstances which may occur, a more adequate proportion of the Revenues of the Carnatic should be applied to the military defence of those valuable possessions, than can now be appropriated to that purpose. The calamitous impoverishment of every source of wealth and population, of which the causes have been repeatedly stated to your Honourable Committee, leaves no immediate expectation that the net revenues of the Carnatic will exceed the sum of nineteen lacks of star pagodas. This fund, after allotting a sufficient sum for the support of the expenses of the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, for the maintenance of the principal officers, ministers, dependants, and family of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and for the payment of the amount appropriated to the liquidation of the consolidated debt of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, will afford a sum probably not exceeding nine lacks of pagodas for the defrayment of the charges of defending these extensive territories.

19 That sum exceeds, by a very small amount, the proportion of the revenue which the province of Tanjore contributes to the general exigencies of the state, and bears a very inadequate proportion, either to the expence of defending the Carnatic, or to the rate of assessment levied for the public protection in every other part of the Presidency. The present deduction of six from fifteen lacks of pagodas, is therefore so disproportioned to the present revenues of the Carnatic, that we can indulge no very sanguine hope of an immediate augmentation of our pecuniary resources from the administration of the Civil Government of the Carnatic. The progressive decline of the Revenues of the Carnatic may be considered to have approached that stage, at which your Committee have been prepared to except the entire failure of the Nabob's Government, and, under the existing engagements, the augmentation of our resources must be proportioned to the gradual restoration of the wealth and prosperity of the Country; every consideration, therefore, of the actual expense of protecting the ex-

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tensive provinces of the Carnatic, every view of the indispensable necessity of maintaining an adequate military force for the defence of the British possessions in the peninsula of India and every motive of attention to the alarming pressure on the finances of this Presidency, required Lord Clive to establish by the present Treaty, the best possible security for a more adequate application in future of the Public Revenues of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the Public Service.

20 We feel great pleasure in congratulating your Honourable Committee on the completion of an arrangement which has at length secured the British interests in the Carnatic on the solid basis of territorial possession and which is, at the same time, calculated to confirm the reputation of our national magnanimity, generosity and moderation. We have no doubt that your Honourable Committee will concur in our sentiments that the negotiation which has terminated in the accomplishment of these important objects, has been conducted in a manner consistent with the liberal policy of the Nation, unbiassed by the adventitious advantage which might have been derived from the early excitement of a competition, founded on the variety of adverse interests dependent on the determination of the British Councils.

We have the honour to inform you that, in conformity to the terms of the Treaty the installation of the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah was completed on the 31st ult. accompanied with every demonstration of public respect, supported by every possible degree of splendour, and confirmed under the observance of the most formal procedure. We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect

Honourable Sirs

Yours faithful humble Servants

(Signed) CLIVE

T. STUART

WM. PETIE

E. W. FALLOFIELD

Fort St George
3rd August, 1801

APPENDIX C.

Verses which bring out the chronogram of the coronation of Ḥajīmuḥ-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Ḥālājūh III.

چون ابنِ مدارِ ملکِ حشمت • صاحبِ کرم و عظیمِ دولت
در نذل و عطا چو ابنِ یسار • والا حسب و بلند همت
از حکمِ خدائے هر دو عالم • او بود چو صاحبِ وراثت
بشکست و برید پائے حاسد • بنفسِ مسندِ امارت
تاریخِ جلوسِ گفتِ هاتف • شد مالکِ مسندِ ریاست

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APPENDIX D

*Minute of Lord Clive, dated 29th September 1801,
relative to the pecuniary Provision to be made for
the Families of the late Nabobs Mahomed Ali and
Omdut ul Omrah etc, etc*

Minute of Lord Clive in Council 29th September, 1801

I have the honour of communicating to the Board a Statement of the pecuniary provision which I propose to make for the Family of their late Highnesses the Nabob Mahomed Ally and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah as well as for the principal Officers and Dependants of the late Government This Statement has been prepared in communication with his Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah. Reason therefore exists for believing that the provision now proposed extends to every branch of the Family and that the Company will be liable to no further expense for its support

It appears by the Accounts with which I have been furnished from the Durbar of the Nabob that the appropriation of the Family Jagheers by the Nabob Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah has been extremely capricious by these means many members of the Family have lived in the enjoyment of superfluous abundance, while the greater part has with difficulty commanded the means of subsistence. This mode of appropriation has therefore afforded no gulde for the allotment of the pecuniary stipends and I have judged it most expedient to divide the Family and its connexions into separate classes according to the respective gradations of the different branches

In proposing half a lakh of rupees for the support of each of the legitimate Sons of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, I have

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allowed myself perhaps to exceed the bounds which a strict interpretation of the situation of those Princes might justify; but I have been unwilling to detract from the liberality by which the British Government has been guided throughout the recent transactions connected with this Family; and it did not appear to be consistent with this plan of arrangement, that a less income should be allotted to the legitimate Sons of Mahomed Ally, than that appropriated to the support of the elder Sons of the late Tippoo Sultaun. To the inferior branches of the Family I have allotted stipends, calculated in a relative proportion according to the respective classes to which they have been referred.

Some oppressive exactions having been made by Hussam ul Mulk (the second surviving Son of the Nabob Mahomed Ally) in his capacity of Foujdar of Trichinopoly, particularly in the Pagoda of Seringam, the means of re-compensing the sufferers will hereafter be a subject of consideration for the Governor in Council, but I shall consider it indispensably necessary to apply a great portion of the stipend of Hussam ul Mulk to this purpose; for the same reason I shall propose to reimburse the Company in the amount of the arrear paid to the troops of Sultan ul Nissa Begum, the favourite Sister of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, from the stipend allotted to that Princess

The only deviation I have admitted from the principle of distributing the Family into classes, is in favour of Tadjul Omra, the eldest reputed Son of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah. The operation of that principle would have referred him to the class of Nekahe Sons, and perhaps a strict interpretation of his condition might be more consistent with that principle, because a deviation in his favour can only be founded on considerations connected with his former rank and expectations, and might therefore be liable to the imputation of encouraging hopes, which, having been decidedly cut off, it may be unwise to indulge.

I am disposed however, in the present state of circumstances, to consider Ally Hussein to be more an object of compassion than of danger, and I think that the proposed stipend of Rs 24 000 per annum, affords sufficient means of gratifying his wishes, without encroaching on the expediency of suppressing his pretensions to the Government of the Carnatic.

The list of the Officers of the late Government is not extensive, and the provision which I propose to make for them is liberal. Of the four principal Officers of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, introduced to the deputies after the death of that Prince, I have included only Tucky Ally Khan and I have allotted to him a stipend proportioned to his former rank in the Durbar Nejeeb Khan (the other person named in the Will of Omdut ul Omrah) holds at present a Jagheer which will hereafter come under the consideration of the Board and will afford, I have no doubt, ample means of maintaining that Khan. The part which Kadir Nawaz Khan has acted in the extraordinary negotiations of the late Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah has rendered it impossible to include him in the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic upon the present foundation, and with respect to Mr Barret, it will be manifest, from the description of that person contained in the report of the Deputies, that the same considerations do not apply to him, which apply to the Mussulmen Gentlemen of rank and character in the service of the late Government.

The three Princes connected with the Family of the Emperor at Delhi have, I understand resided in the neighbourhood of this Presidency and have been supported by the bounty of the late Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, during a long period of time. I have therefore judged it necessary in framing the present arrangement, to secure to persons of their description the certain means of subsistence through the channel of the Company's Government.

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Having concluded these arrangements with his Highness the Nabob, in conformity to the stipulations of the Treaty, I consider it to be consistent with the spirit of that instrument, to give every appearance of support to the dignity and rank to his present Highness, and to restrain the spirit of hostility which has been avowed by many branches of the Family towards the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah While therefore I propose to secure to each branch of the Family the actual enjoyment of the pension allotted to it, by rendering it payable at the Company's Treasury to such persons as may be appointed to receive it, I judge it to be indispensably necessary, to the preservation of good order and harmony in the Family, that the receipts to be granted by the different members of it should be previously subjected to the Nabob's inspection, and that the payment of the pensions shall be suspended unless such receipts shall bear the seal and signature of his Highness.

I consider it to be extremely desirable that every precaution shall be used for securing the happiness and comfort of the Nabob on the foundation of the present arrangement; in order therefore to preserve his Highness from the errors of his predecessors, to defend him from the machinations of interested persons, to restrain his expenses within the limit of his income, and to impress constantly on his mind the principles of his connection with the British Government, I judge it to be expedient that a person should be appointed to attend his Highness's Durbar, and to hold a constant personal communication with him on the part of this Government. The general objects of this arrangement will be subject to the immediate superintendence of the Government; and the duties of the subordinate Office, which I propose to create, will be directed to the maintenance of that intercourse, to the timely communication of the intended measures of the Nabob, and to the establishment of an immediate control, under circumstances contributing at the same time to the honour and respect due to his Highness's station

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The nature of these duties is such as to require the appointment of a Mussulman of good character and understanding, rather than an European Gentleman I have the best opinion of the fidelity of Gholaum Hussain, the principal Moonshy in the Persian Office, and of his qualifications to discharge the duties of that station with satisfaction to this Government and advantage to the Company I propose accordingly to nominate Gholaum Hussain to attend (under the immediate orders of the Governor) the Durhar of his Highness the Naboh, with a salary of one hundred pagodas per month and with an allowance of fifty pagodas for equipage and servants. These sums of money it is my intention to charge on the fund to be appropriated to the support of the Family and dependants of the Naboh

The Board will observe, by the statements which I have the honour of communicating to it, that the amount of the proposed pecuniary provision for the Family and Dependants of the Naboh is less than the amount appropriable to that purpose, according to the stipulations of the Treaty of 1792 and the nature of the present arrangement is calculated to secure a gradual diminution of this expenditure.

I propose that the payment of the stipends shall commence from the first day of October

- I Statement of the pecuniary provision to be made for the surviving branches of the Families of their Highnesses the late Naboh Mahomed Ally and the late Naboh Omdut ul Omrah.

I		
<i>Family of the Naboh Mahomed Ally</i>		
Three sons by legitimate marriage <i>vis</i>	Rs.	Rs.
Slef ul Mulk	50,000	
Hussam ul Mulk	50,000	
Nassur ul Mulk	50,000	
	<hr/>	150,000
Three daughters by legitimate marriage <i>vis</i>		
Sultaun ul Nissa Begum	25,000	
Mullickul Nissa Begum	25,000	
Omdut ul Nissa Begum	25,000	
	<hr/>	75,000

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Ten sons by Nika, <i>viz</i>	Rs.	Rs
Hussain Nawaz Khan	.. 10,000	
Serafraz Khan	10,000	
Abdul Hamid Khan	. 10,000	
Nassur Oollah Khan	10,000	
Gholam Mahomed Khan	.. 10,000	
Ismael Khan	10,000	
Hussain Mahomed Khan	10,000	
Aboo Turab Khan	10,000	
Abdul Mahbood Khan	. 10,000	
Abdul Ghuffar Khan	.. 10,000	
	<hr/>	
		100,000
Five Nika Ladies, <i>viz</i>		
Riesul Nissa Begum	. 5,000	
Zub ul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Lal Mahal	5,000	
Khattijah Begum	.. 5,000	
Padsha Begum	.. 5,000	
	<hr/>	
		25,000
		<hr/>
		350,000
Twelve daughters by Nika, <i>viz</i>		
Nejubul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Aziezul Nissa Begum	. 5,000	
Serajul Nissa Begum	. 5,000	
Afzul ul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Fachrul Nissa Begum	5,000	
Dowlut ul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Rizzia Begum	.. 5,000	
Reheem ul Nissa Begum	. 5,000	
Fuzulut ul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Raabia Begum	.. 5,000	
Lutful Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Hafiza Begum	.. 5,000	
	<hr/>	
		60,000
One Grandson by Nika, <i>viz</i>		
Abdul Bosit Khan	..	3,000
Inferior Nika Ladies, <i>viz</i>		
Pursun Buby	.. 3,000	
Hudjany Buby	.. 1,200	

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

	Rs	Rs.
Aumunah Buby	1,200	
Kanullah Buby	1,200	
Four Circassians	4,200	
Muddary Begum	1,200	
	<hr/>	
		12,000
The Haram		8,400
		<hr/>
Total		4,33,400
		<hr/>

II

Family of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah

The Begum Dolary Begum		25,000
Three Sons by Nika <i>vis</i>		
Tadjul Omrah	24 000	
Shah Sowar Jung	10,000	
Bakir Hussain Khan	10,000	
	<hr/>	
		44 000
One Daugbter by Nika; <i>vis</i> .		
Hussa bul Nissa		5 000
Four Nika Ladies <i>vis</i>		
Gussaty Begum	5,000	
Colsum Begum	5 000	
Chuloor Begum	5,000	
Mahatab	5,000	
	<hr/>	
		20,000
One inferior concubine, recently admiltted into the Mahal		
with ber infant son		2,400
The Haram		4 053
		<hr/>
Total		1,00,453
		<hr/>

III

*The Family of Abdul Wahab Khan the legitimate Brother of the Nabob Mahomed Ally *vis*.*

Two sons by legitimate marriages <i>vis</i> .		
Dileer Jung	24 000	
Khan Jehan Khan	12,000	
	<hr/>	
		36,000

APPENDIX D

	Rs	Rs
Four sons by Nika, viz		
Serafraz Khan	2,000	
Nedum Oollah	. 2,000	
Abdo Rezzak Khan	.. 2,000	
Kurreimodeen Ahmed	. 2,000	
	<hr/>	
		8,000
One legitimate Wife, Lally Begum		6,000
Three Nika Ladies, viz		
Allah Rukky	. 2,000	
Mastura Khanum	.. 1,000	
Salliah Bee	.. 500	
	<hr/>	
		3,500
Five Daughters, viz		
Karrem ul Nissa	2,000	
Rahmut ul Nissa	. 2,000	
Ahmedy Begum	. 2,000	
Buddyul Begum	.. 2,000	
Wugjyul Nissa	. 2,000	
	<hr/>	
		10,000
The Family of Ectadar Khan, a son by Nika		2,000
		<hr/>
	Total	65,500
		<hr/>

IV

The Family of Mahpooz Khan, the Brother of the Nabob Mahomed Ally by Nika

One Son Mahpooz Khan	..	6,000
Three Daughters, viz		
The wife of Mahomed Murad	2,000	
The wife of Mahomed Ally Khan	.. 2,000	
Buby Saheb	.. 1 200	
	<hr/>	
		5,200
		<hr/>
	Total .	11,200
		<hr/>

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

	Rs	Rs
V		
<i>Separate connections of the Nabob Mahomed Ally</i>		
Abdul Kadir the nephew of Mahomed Ally by his legitimate Sister		12,000
The Family of Jan Jehan Khan, nephew of Mahomed Ally by his legitimate Sister		5 000
The Family of Lewad Khan, a Nikahl son of Mahomed Ally		5,000
The Family of Hussain Ally Khan, a Nikahl son of Mahomed Ally		5,000
The Family of Nejeeb Ollah Khan, a Nikahl Brother of Mahomed Ally		2,000
The Family of Bodder of Islam Khan a Nikahl Brother of Mahomed Ally		3,000
Total		<hr/> 32,000 <hr/>

VI		
<i>Officers of the Government of the Nabob Omdul Omrah not included in the provision made for the Family of his Highness</i>		
Mochtar Jung Fozjdar of Tinnewelly		4,200
Ally Newas Khan Killadar of Arcot		4,200
Porky Ally Khan, one of the Ministers at Madras		4,200
Meer Asaud Ollah Khan		4,200
Kuttub Oodin Khan		4,200
Jowaher Ally Khan, Killadar of Rylasgur		1,200
Serafrax Ally Khan, Killadar of Terrioor		1,200
Bakir Gowar Killadar of Chittoor		1,200
Ameen ud Din Ally Khan Behauder		2,400
Commandant Mahomed Ibrahim		1,200
Moonshy Gholaum Hussein		6,320
Total		<hr/> 34,520 <hr/>

VII		
<i>Three relations of the Emperor of Delhi pensioned by the Nabob Mahomed Ally</i>		
Humsooln Bucht	6,000	
Ally Bucht	4,200	
His young Brother	1,200	
	<hr/>	11,400 <hr/>

APPENDIX D

	Rs.	Rs
RECAPITULATION		
1. Family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally	.	4,33,400
2 Family of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah		1,00,453
3. Family of the Nabob Abdul Wahab Khan	.	65,500
4 Family of the Nabob Mahpooz Khan		11,200
5. Separate Connections		32,000
6 Officers of the late Government	..	34,520
7 Relations of the Emperor	.	11,400
		<hr/>
Grand total	.	6,88,473
		<hr/>

(Signed) CLIVE,

(A true copy)

(Signed) F WEBBE,
Chief Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX L

*Verses which bring out the chronogram of the death of
Aglmu'd Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Walāyah III*

حوں رحلت بہ نسبت ازس سورجے فامام • کان بود ز دل علام آں ہاشم
گفتم س رحلت عظم الدولہ • موسومہ برحمت الہی داسم
۱۲۲۳

APPENDIX F

*The Chronogram of the coronation of A gam Jah Bahā
dur Nawwāb Walāyah IV*

حوں ز فیض مدرج اعظم حاک • زیب آور شدہ ریاست و نعت
ہاتف دل بہ سال تاریخش • مسندِ حلوة کا اعظم گف
۱۲۳۵

APPENDIX G.

Note on the delay in the recognition of A'zam Jāh Bahādūr as the Nawzwāb of the Carnatic in succession to his father, Nawzwāb Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādūr.

Three years after Azim-ud daula's installation in 1801 Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, declared that the British Government, "unwilling to degrade the illustrious house of Arcot, was pleased to establish your highness Azimud-Dawla upon the throne, reserving to itself the administration of the Civil and Military affairs of the country." Even in the earlier proclamation of July 27, 1801, declaring Azimud-Dawla the Nawab, the Government of Lord Clive said that "it has now resolved to exercise its right and its power, under providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of prince Azim-ud-daula Bahadur "

Nawab Azim-ud-daula died in August, 1819, and was succeeded, after an interval of several months, by his eldest son, Azam Jah. The Madras Government wrote to the Government of India that it would have been satisfactory to the family of the Nawab to have been informed whether the Governor-General-in-Council, considered the treaty of 1801 "to have guaranteed the succession to the musnud to his (Azim-ud-daula's) family in the direct and legitimate line of descent to which opinion they themselves had always been inclined as well from the spirit in which the treaty was concluded as the tenor of its profession and also from the terms of the declaration published at that period " According to Sir Charles Aitchison (author of *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, etc*) Nawab Azam Jah was informed that as the treaty of 1801 did not stipulate that the rank and dignity of the Nawab should be

hereditary in the family of Azim ud-daula, his succession depended on the 'pleasure of the Supreme Government.' The Madras Government recommended that the new Nawab should be called upon to execute some formal instrument recognising explicitly its conditions, but the India Government did not consider it necessary to conclude any such new engagement with the Nawab. The treaty of 1801 was not renewed at this time and the installation of Nawab Azam Jah was delayed for a period of six months because of the absence from the treaty of 1801 of any stipulation regarding the succession and the consequent uncertainty as to the procedure to be followed.

Later on, Lord Dalhousie averred that as the Government of India refused to renew the treaty of 1801 in 1819 that treaty had no existence and its provisions had no binding force after the death of the Nawab Azim ud-daula with whom alone it was concluded and to whom alone it was applicable. Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras at the time of the abolition of the Nawabship also misinterprets according to Major Bell, the transaction of 1819 and says that the Government of Madras had pointed out to the Government of India in their correspondence of 1819 that they were not authorised by the treaty to acknowledge any successor. Bell¹ contends that the treaty of 1801 was a public treaty and not a mere personal one. It was a treaty which is real according to International Law and it did not relate exclusively to the persons of the contracting parties and was not terminable either with their death or with their disappearance. The Treaty was made for public objects and therefore valid and binding for all time to come. He further maintains that even if it had been personal it would not have expired because the family of the contracting sovereign was not extinct. Article 2 of the treaty included the recital of the

(1) See E. Bell's *Letters from India* edited with an Introduction by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1935 pp. 51 2 of Introduction.

APPENDIX G

previous treaties of 1787 and 1792, and it declared finally that its main additional provisions were "to supply the defects of all former engagements and to establish the connection between the contracting parties on a permanent basis of security in all times to come" Manifestly, the term, contracting parties, indicates and includes the representatives and continuators of the Wallajah family and the East India Company "in the past, in the present and in the future", and points to "a permanent alliance and a perpetual succession"

Azim-ud-daula died on the 3rd of August, 1819, leaving several sons, the eldest of whom was the Nawab Azam Jah—"Under date 2nd October, 1819, the Madras Government stated to that of India, that it would have been satisfactory to them to have been informed whether the Governor-General-in-Council considered the treaty concluded with the late Nawab on the 31st July, 1801, to have guaranteed the succession to the musnud to his family in the direct and legitimate line of descent, to which opinion they themselves had always been inclined as well from the spirit in which the treaty was concluded, as from the tenor of its professions and also from the terms of the declaration published at that period" [Carnatic Papers, 1860, p 35] The declaration of the Madras Government of July 27th, 1801, says "The British Government has now resolved to exercise its rights and its power, under Providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of the Prince Azeem-ul-Dowlah Bahadur." They thought it advisable, "now that the Nawab Azam Jah had virtually become a party" to the new treaty, that he should be called upon "to execute some formal instrument" recognising its conditions Azam Jah, the son of Azim-ud-doula, was informed that as the treaty of 1801 did not stipulate that the rank and dignity of Nawab of the Carnatic should be hereditary in the family of Azim-ud-daula, his succession depended on the pleasure of the Supreme Government Azam Jah was, however, recognised, but it was not considered necessary to

conclude any new engagement with him (Aitchison's *Treaties etc*—Vol X, p 5)

The Governor General the Marquis of Hastings, was of opinion that no such instrument, or new treaty was required as he considered 'his Highness to be *ipso facto* a party to the treaty concluded with his father in 1801" The eldest son Azam Jah was therefore installed on the 2rd of February, 1820 and congratulated by the Governor on ascending the musnud in the direct line of hereditary succession to your father'

APPENDIX^۱H.

*Verses which bring out the date of the death of A'zam
Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.*

چو رفته مدارِ بقا ار فنا * ولی عهدِ ثوابِ رحمتِ مآب
بسالِش جنابِ رسالتِ دلم * نگفتا لقبِ دادِ رضوانِ مآب
۱۲۴۱

APPENDIX I.

*Verses which give the date of the coronation of Ghulām
Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālā-
jāh V*

خلفِ ارجمندِ اعظمِ جاه * از وراثتِ چو بهرهِ ور گردید
خردمِ گفت از سرِ الحمد * روبرقِ مسندِ پدر گردید
۱۲۴۱

دیگر

جب هوا رخسندۀ مسندِ وه ماهِ حورو
جلوۀ^۱ افروزی ہوئی ہرسمتِ اس ماهِ کی
از سرِ الحمد ہاتفِ فہ کہا سالِ جلوس
چہ منورِ مسندِ دولتِ منورِ جاہ کی

APPENDIX J

*Verses which commemorate the regency of Nawwāb
Hajīm Jāh Bahādur*

انکہ نواب عظمیٰ و عظم اس بجا
کر نسیم حردش عتقہ دولت ہسلعت
شد حر او نائب مختار، سرورش عینی
لغظ مختار سال س مختاری گعت
۱۲۳۱

APPENDIX K.

*Ghazals in Hindī language composed by Mīr Khurshīd
Hasan Mīnsarwī on the occasion of the ceremony of
bismillāh-khizwānī of Ghulām Muhammad Ghazwī
Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V*

جب کہ نوابِ زمان منہ سے کہا بسم اللہ
تب ہوئی چنگ و دف و نے سے صدا بسم اللہ

دلبلانِ چمنِ فرح لگتے ہوئے نثار
عنچہ لب اوسکا جو پڑھنے کو کھلا بسم اللہ
عندلیبانِ گلستانِ مسرتِ بولے
واہ کیا صاف پڑھا نامِ خدا بسم اللہ

کہتے ہیں پیر و جوان خرد و کلان از سرِ ناز
چشمِ بد دور کہاں ایسا ہوا بسم اللہ

ہوئے مقدر یہ خورشیدِ حسن سے یا رب
جو دعا کرتا ہے کہہ کہہ کے صدا بسم اللہ

سایہ میں جدّہ و مادر و چچا کے اوس کے
اوسکی اولاد کا تو اوسکو دکھا بسم اللہ

ہے صلہ اس کا دوشالہ و گہرِ خلعت و زر
پر حق تو چہتا ہے فی الوفاء دلا بسم اللہ

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